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A HISTORY OF INDIA

For High Schools and Colleges

BY

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PREFACE

THIS short History of India has been written primarily for those who are proceeding to the Matriculation examination of an Indian University. It may, however, be found of use to more advanced students and of interest to the general reader.

It has been necessary to aim at simplicity of style and to confine the treatment within the narrowest limits of space. When every paragraph, and almost every sentence, has been a matter for jealous calculation, it has not been possible to find room for a Bibliography. Each section, however, is based upon a study of what are our original documents or standard authorities for Indian history.

Where the field is so wide and so much is still obscure, it must be that I have committed errors of judgement and fallen into some mistakes. But an author may not ask for indulgence for inaccuracy, because he writes for beginners. The fewer the strokes in the picture the greater the need that they shall be drawn with exactness. I shall be grateful to any of my readers for their corrections.

I must express my gratitude to many who have assisted me in writing this book or in passing it through the Press. My thanks are due especially to Professor A. A. Macdonell, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit, for the help of his writings and lectures and for the use of the library of the Indian Institute at Oxford; to J. N. Fraser, Esq., M.A., Principal of the Secondary Training College, Bombay, and the Rev. Henry Gulliford, who have read all the proofs and made many useful suggestions; to Canon Sell, of Madras, whose advice on the Muhammadan period has been particularly valuable; and to Mr. John Murray, the publisher, who willingly supplied a number of blocks from Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*. My express acknowledgements are also due to Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*. His chronology for the Hindu period has been followed throughout; for it is the only complete system before the general public, and his work is the only adequate advanced text-book in the hands of Indian students.

The attempt by any one man to write a History of India from the earliest down to modern times must seem almost like an impertinence to those who know anything of the subject. The literatures to be

explored are so extensive and in languages so diverse, and the transitions in thought are so sudden and great. But if we expect our school-boys and undergraduates to see the History of India as a whole, that whole must first be formed in the mind of the teacher. Sanskrit and Persian scholars and archæologists have toiled hard in this field, and we of to-day have entered into their labours. This elementary textbook seeks to garner some of the harvests of their ploughing and sowing.

The system of transliteration of proper names followed in this book is a compromise. Sanskrit words have been rendered uniformly according to an established method; but I have not felt able to discard some familiar spellings in common use and to substitute, for example, Kāñhpūr for Cawnpore, or to adopt all the technicalities of the transliteration of Persian and Hindustāni names

I have tried to keep a due proportion in writing and to offer a true and sympathetic interpretation of different civilizations as well as to provide a record of events as accurate as may be. This book is sent forth in the hope that it may help towards the better teaching of Indian History in our Schools and Colleges.

Mysore,
September, 1908.

E. W. T.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

The fourth edition of this book differs from those which have preceded it chiefly in that a whole series of historical maps has been inserted along with a number of new illustrations. I am greatly indebted to the assistance of the Rev. George Patterson in the preparation of these maps which are designed to include every place-name of importance mentioned in the text. I have endeavoured to make this edition more accurate and complete by the removal of some errors and the supplying of some omissions; and the whole text has been carefully revised. To those who, by their advice or criticism, have contributed to this better result I desire to tender my sincere thanks.

Mysore,
May, 1912.

E. W. T.

TO MY SCHOOLBOY READERS

MY DEAR FELLOW STUDENTS,

This book has been written to help you in your examinations and on the lines of a University Syllabus; and I hope that you will find in it all that any examiner is ever likely to ask you. But it is not a cram-book, and it will have failed in its object, if it does not teach some of you at least the love of History for its own sake—if it does not show you the right way to study History, and bring to you some of the true benefits of historical reading.

It is the business of History to discover and to tell the truth about the past, that is, to distinguish between fact and fiction. If you can gain the spirit of scientific historical research, you will learn to love truth and to avoid falsehood. You will always be anxious to know and careful to speak of events as they really happened. You will also be ready to take a reverent and affectionate care of everything which can instruct us about the past, whether these memorials are coins or incised tablets, palm-leaf books or ancient buildings.

There are many epochs of European history which have been so thoroughly and so frequently explored, that it is difficult for authors to find anything new in them or to say anything fresh about their great characters; but, as students of Indian history, you enjoy a great advantage. Every day new materials for the writing of history are being turned up and some addition is being made to our knowledge of India's past. You could not have a more innocent and delightful hobby for the years of your manhood than historical study. If you cannot take up research work and contribute something to the larger imperial history of India, at least you may become a local antiquarian: you may become the historian of your native village or town or of the district in which you live.

But, ~~lastly~~ and principally, History, honestly studied, will train you for your duties as citizens. It will show you what are the vices which cause nations to decline and fall, and what are the virtues which raise them to power and prosperity. To me it seems that the chiefest among the political virtues is Simplicity—in the old and best sense of that term, meaning Singleness of aim. When it is

your duty to speak, speak as you think ; and when you must act, do as you have said. To make word agree with thought, and deed with both is one of the highest achievements of character. This Simplicity is the foundation on which mutual faith rests, and national greatness is built upon mutual faith.

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
1. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND RACES OF INDIA ...	1
2. THE IMMIGRATION AND EARLY CIVILIZATION OF THE ARYANS 	11
3. THE EXPANSION OF THE ARYANS 	17
4. THE RISE OF JAINISM AND BUDDHISM 	26
5. THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT 	36
6. THE MAURYAN EMPIRE 	42
7. A TANGLED TALE : ANDHRA, BACTRIAN, PARTHIAN, SAKA, AND KUSHAN DYNASTIES 	55
8. THE GUPTA EMPIRE. THE HUNS AND KING HARSHA ...	67
9. THE HINDU KINGDOMS DOWN TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST 	82
10. THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST AND THE EARLY KINGS OF DELHI 	117
11. THE INTERVAL BEFORE THE MUGHAL EMPIRE 	141
12. THE MUGHAL EMPIRE 	157
13. THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND RISE OF THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY 	207
14. THE EUROPEAN NATIONS IN INDIA 	239
15. THE RISE OF THE BRITISH TO THE SUPREMACY 	267
16. THE COMPANY AS THE PARAMOUNT POWER 	332
17. INDIA UNDER THE CROWN 	384
INDEX 	421

CHAPTER I

The Geographical Divisions and Races of India

India is rather a continent than a country, so vast is its area and so varied are the races inhabiting its territories. Within the boundaries of the modern Indian Empire dwells a population of nearly three hundred millions, derived from sources widely apart and speaking many different tongues. There has always been a large number of separate Kingdoms and States in India, and it is not possible, within the limits of one volume, to give even the barest summary of the history of each of these. All that we shall attempt in this book is to trace in outline the history of the paramount dynasties, whether Hindu or Mughal or British, which have arisen at various times and have brought a large part or the whole of the lesser States under their sovereign sway.

It is necessary, at the outset, that we should form an idea of the main geographical divisions and leading racial types of India; for natural boundaries, climate, and race have much to do with the course of political history.

THE MAIN GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.—As a peninsula, India is bounded on its two converging faces by the ocean—by the Arabian Sea on the west and by the Bay of Bengal on the east. On the northern side, where it runs back into the continent of Asia, it is shut in by the stupendous double ramparts of the Himālayas. At its western extremity, this range bends southwards and is continued by the Sulaimān and Kirthar mountains almost down to the sea-shore. In the eastern angle, the Patkai and other ranges, with a south-westerly direction, cut off Assam and Eastern Bengal from Upper Burma. Thus the mountains are a wall on the north, and the sea is a moat on all other sides of India.

India was once isolated from the rest of the world by these physical barriers, and easy and rapid communication with other nations was rendered impossible. It was not

until the close of the fifteenth century, when the arts of ship-building and navigation had been improved sufficiently to enable mariners to undertake long voyages out of sight of the shore, that there was direct intercourse between India and Europe. The only land routes into India lay through the wild and gloomy defiles of the north, where the rivers have cut their way through the mountain ranges.

We may distinguish three main land divisions of India, of which the river plains of the north constitute the first.

These plains extend across the whole breadth of the base of the peninsula, and are watered by three mighty rivers—the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, which carry the drainage of the Himālayas to the sea. We shall find that conquest and civilisation followed the course of these rivers. Some of the Aryans worked their way gradually down the basin of the Ganges from west to east, while others of them and the mixed Scythian tribes pursued a southerly track along the Indus. They established themselves in the oases of the great sand desert and the mountainous recesses of Mālhwā, or passing the ends of the Mālhwā ranges, they planted their settlements farther south along the west coast.

Since these river plains lie adjacent to the gates of the north-west, they have been, and continue to be, the chief seat of the Aryan and Muhammadan populations.

Between the river plains of the north and central India an irregular and broken chain of mountains stretches across the country. In the western and middle portions there are the parallel ranges of the Vindhya and Sātpurā mountains, between which, as in a trough, the Narmadā flows to the Arabian Sea; while the series terminates towards the east in the Rājmahāl Hills, running almost up to the southern bank of the Ganges. In ancient times the Vindhya system was an entanglement of mountain, ravine and forest, and presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of armies. It acted as a barrier, damming back the floods of foreign invasion that rolled unchecked along the northern plains. It delayed the spread of the

Aryan civilisation for centuries, though gradually ascetic teachers, priests, and princes, with their followers, found their way through its perilous mazes into the Southern Land or *Dakṣiṇa Bhāga*. It also kept back the Muhammadan conqueror for three or four hundred years; and, even after their generals had succeeded in piercing the barrier, the Delhi emperors were never able to keep firm hold on their provinces in the Deccan. These were too distant and too difficult of access.

The Southern Land may be divided into two portions:—The Deccan Plateau and the Maritime Plains of the South. The former is a triangular table-land with an elevation varying from 1,000 to 3,000 feet. It is bounded on the north by the Vindhyan system and enclosed on its other sides by the Western and Eastern Ghāts. The general slope of the plateau is from west to east, and all of its great rivers—the Mahānadī, the Godāvārī, the Kṛishṇā, and the Kāverī empty themselves into the Bay of Bengal.

The peoples of this plateau, enjoying a dry and comparatively cool climate, possessed a considerable degree of military vigour and enterprise. We shall read hereafter of many great and flourishing Hindu and Muhammadan Kingdoms in the Deccan, and in more recent days the Marāthā yeomen of the north-west corner of the plateau made the Marāthā Confederacy the first power in India.

In race and language the bulk of the population belongs to the Dravidian type; but in the north and north-west languages of the Aryan family, such as Marāthī, are spoken, and the Aryan and Scythian race elements are more common than farther south.

The Maritime Plains lie below the Ghāts stretching to the sea-shore. On the west only a narrow strip, a few miles wide, is left between the sea and the mountains, which rise like giant landing-stairs from the coast; but in the east and south there are the deltas of great rivers and broad tracts of level country reaching far back into the interior of the peninsula. These are hot and often fertile regions, inhabited by a people industrious indeed

**The
Deccan
Plateau**

**The Maritime
Plains of the
South**

and skilful in agriculture and commerce, but with little leisure or energy for war and empire. The population is almost purely Dravidian, and the Tamil language, spoken in the south, may claim to be the richest and most independent of all the Dravidian dialects.

THE RACES OF INDIA.—Let us now consider the chief racial divisions of India. Four main types may be distinguished—the Dravidian, the Aryan, the Scythian, and the Mongoloid. We have had occasion to mention these already, but we shall now enumerate the characteristics of each type.



A WILD MAN OF THE JUNGLES

The earliest-known inhabitants of India are the Dravidians. There is no

satisfactory evidence to show how or whence they came into this country.* They are distinguished physically by their long heads, broad noses, and dark complexions, and are usually of short stature. In the earliest times they seem to have occupied almost the whole of the Indian peninsula, and they still form by

far the largest numerical element in the population. We must not think of the Dravidians as being a wholly uncivilised and barbarous people at the time of the Aryan invasion. There were degrees of civilisation among them. While some belonged to rude and ignorant tribes, dwelling in the midst of the hills and jungles to which they had been driven by their more powerful and prosperous neighbours,

* The theories that the Dravidians entered India by the passes of the north-west and north-east, or that they are related to the peoples of the Malay Archipelago and Australasia, are mere conjectures supported by the scantiest evidence.

others were gathered into rich and flourishing States. The former are represented by the Santāls, Khonds, and Bhils of to-day,* and the latter by the modern kingdoms of southern India.

The Aryans were entering India by the passes of the north-west in some undefined period before B.C. 1,000.

The Aryans How far back that period extends we cannot say. It is probable that there were several waves of invasion: one Aryan tribe after another descended from the defiles of the frontier into the plains of the Panjāb, thrusting its predecessors on in front of it or passing through them to find fresh pasture for its flocks and herds in the country beyond. The Aryans were a long-headed race, of tall stature, with narrow noses and a fair complexion. Their purest representatives are found to-day mainly in Kashmīr, the Punjāb and Rājputāna.



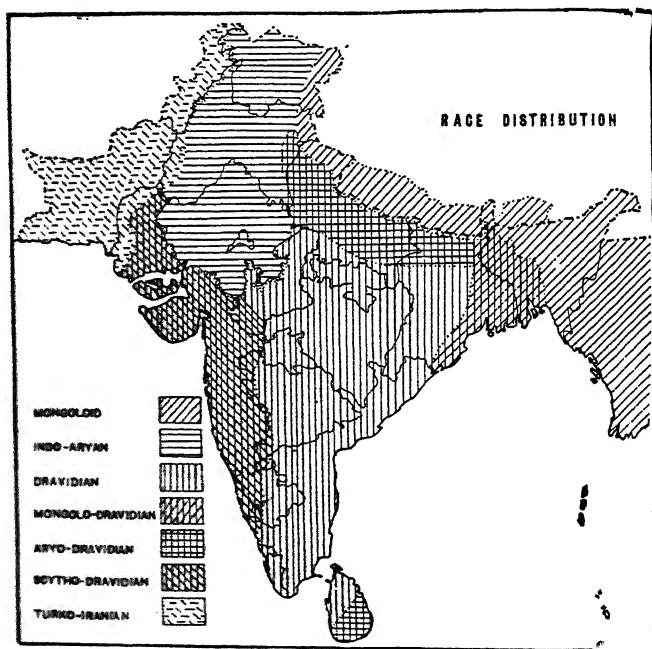
INDO-ARYAN TYPE

The influence of the Aryans in India, however, is not to be gauged by numbers or by the extent of territory now occupied by those of purer Aryan descent. Aryan princes, accompanied by their priests, issued from their territories in the north-west and established dynasties in many parts of India; and even more influential than these warriors and rulers have been the descendants of the Aryan priestly families, the Brāhmins, who not by force of arms, but of intellect, and using the Sanskrit language as their medium have moulded the religion, the philosophy,

*The theory that some of these jungle tribes belonged to a 'Kolarian' race, different from, inferior to, and older than the Dravidians, is given up by the latest authorities.

the science and art, and the social and political organization of the whole of India.

We know that from the beginning of the second century B.C. down to the invasion of the Huns in the fifth century A.D., north-west India was over-run by a variety of races, which possess certain physical characteristics in common. It is very difficult to distinguish the various tribes of



Bactrians, Parthians, (Pahlavas), Scythians (Śakas), Yueh-chi—of whom the Kushanas constituted the chief branch—and Huns, one from another. But they were all Asiatic peoples of the broad-headed type, with a red or yellowish complexion, and of rather short stature. Their influence can be traced in the physical features—and perhaps in

the mental qualities—of the peoples now living in a strip of country on the west coast of India, stretching from the Rann of Cutch as far south as Coorg.

They had an aptitude for warfare, and were at first cruel and barbarous. Some of the ancient inscriptions show the dread and horror with which they were regarded but they soon mingled with the older inhabitants of the country and readily acquired the Hindu civilisation.

Lastly, in the country all along the foot of the Himālayas and at the head of the Bay of Bengal, we find

**The
Mongoloid**

that the inhabitants are akin to the people of China, and certainly they have come into this region by immigration along the valley of the Irrawaddy and the Brahmaputra or through the eastern passes of the Himālayas. They belong to the Mongolian type and all possess broad heads and a yellowish complexion. The eyes are often set obliquely, the cheek bones are high, and most of the people are of short stature.

Beside these main racial types we may mention others, which were introduced at different periods in the course of the history of India. There is the small but flourishing community of Parsees

**The
Fusion of
Races**

who came from Persia and belong to the Iranian race, sister to the Aryan. The Bactrian kings of the Panjāb had a tinge of Greek or Macedonian blood. In the armies of the Muhammada conquerors marched bands of Arabs, Turks, Afghans, Persians, Mughals,* and Abyssinians. Latest of all, the European occupation of India has introduced another element of pure or mixed Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and English descent.

It must not be imagined that the four main types have been kept distinct. On the contrary, a fusion of races has taken place on a large scale. In Bengal, for

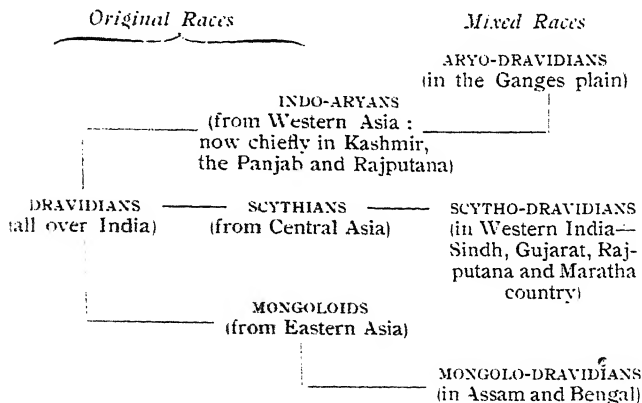
* 'Mughal' is only the Persian form of 'Mongol'; but the 'Mughals' of Indian history are rather 'Scythians' than 'Mongols' in the sense in which the terms are used here. They belonged to the wandering hordes of Central and Western Asia, but subsequently intermarried with Persians and other Aryan or semi-Aryan races. Thus Bābar himself, the founder of the Mughal Empire, was of mixed descent. Similarly the Turks were a Scythian tribe, much modified by union with Aryan races.

example, we may find a mixture of the Dravidian and Mongoloid elements; in western India of the Dravidian and the Scythian elements; and in the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna a mingling of the Dravidian and Aryan elements.

The accompanying map* is intended to show how the four main types of population are distributed and combined. We shall form a true picture of the peoples of India, if we think of the Dravidian population as a vast lake into which three different streams have descended at various epochs, sometimes penetrating far into the lake and mingling their waters with it.

* Based on the Census Report of 1901. See page 6.

TABLE SHOWING MIXTURE OF RACES IN INDIA



THE HINDU PERIOD

CHAPTER II

The Immigration and Early Civilisation of the Aryans

Before B.C. 1000

The earliest traces of man's life consist in India, as in other countries, of the stone tools and weapons used by prehistoric men. Archæologists speak of two periods—the Palæolithic or Old Stone Age and the Neolithic or New Stone Age. The Prehistoric Ages rude implements belonging to the former can be distinguished from the implements belonging to the latter, because they are generally found in an older stratum of rock along with the remains of animals that are now extinct. Only two discoveries have been made up to the present in India of palæolithic implements along with the bones of extinct animals; but the axe-heads, arrow-tips, pottery, and tombs of the later age have been found in large quantities. It is usual to place after the Neolithic Age a Bronze Age, which was followed in its turn by the Iron Age; but there is no indication that the use of bronze preceded that of iron in India, though pure copper may have been used as early as or even earlier than iron. History cannot say anything of these silent and far-off ages; it can only take note that human civilisation sprang from these humble beginnings.

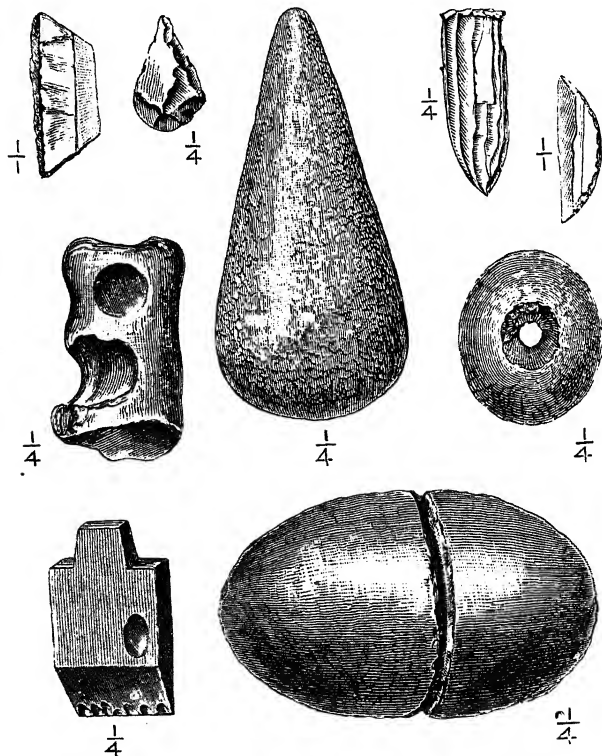
The story of India begins with the coming of the *Āryas* or Aryans; for before their arrival we know little or nothing of the Dravidians. The Aryan tribes seem to have occupied the country north of the Hindu Kush in the valley of the Oxus, and they descended through the passes of that range into the valleys of Afghānistān and the broad plains of the Panjāb. Along with them had moved the Iranians, who took a more westerly course and settled down in Persia. That the Aryans were closely related to the Iranians is proved by many resemblances in language and worship, which have been found in the *Avesta*—the

The
Coming of
the Aryans

scriptures of the Iranians, and the *Rigveda*—the most important collection of the hymns of the Aryans.

At the time of their coming into the Panjāb, the Aryans were divided into many tribes or clans, but they were united by possessing a common language and similar religious observances. The tribe (*jana*) was divided into settlements (*viś*), and each settlement was made up of a number of

**The Earlier
Civilisations of
the Aryans**



KNIVES, AXES AND OTHER TOOLS OF THE STONE AGE

villages (*grāma*). In each family or household the father or elder man was master. The tribes were governed by a

chieftain (*rājā*), who either succeeded to his office hereditarily or was elected to it by the vote of an assembly (*samiti*) of the tribe or chiefs. Caste, in its modern form, strictly forbidding to eat or to marry outside one's own community, did not exist among the Aryan clans; but there were different classes among them.

First in importance was the class of nobles or chieftains (*rājanya*), and next were the priestly families, who performed the sacrifices for the benefit of the tribe or chieftain. Many of the chieftains employed priests as their chaplains (*purohita*); and beside singing hymns to the gods the priests often composed odes in praise of the warlike deeds of their noble patrons and of their generous gifts to the sacrificer. Below these two classes there was the masses of the people (*vaiśyas*), who were employed chiefly in agriculture and in the breeding and tending of cattle.

Whenever necessary, every man would turn soldier; for quarrels were frequent among the clans, and there was always the common foe, the older Dravidian inhabitants (*Dasas* or *Dāsas*), who must be turned out of their lands or driven off, when they were attempting to raid an Aryan settlement. The Dravidians belonged to the *krishna varṇa* or dark colour, and those of them who were taken captive in war were kept as domestic slaves.

The principal wealth of the Aryans was in their cows. These supplied them with the milk and butter, which together with grain formed their chief articles of food. Meat, especially that of bulls, was eaten at sacrificial feasts. Horses were greatly valued; for they were needed to draw the shining chariots used in war or in the friendly rivalry of the race. The houses were built of timber and wattle, and strong wooden stockades (*pur*) were erected on the heights for the defence of the settlements. The Āryas must have been skilful in many of the handicrafts; for they wore helmets and coats-of-mail in battle, while their women were adorned with many kinds of jewels. Marriage sometimes took place by the free choice of man and maid, and the position of the wife in the home, as sharer in the sacrifice and mistress of the house, was one of authority and honour. It is likely that the wives of

military chieftains were burnt upon the funeral pyres of their husbands, for the cruel practice was of great antiquity among the tribes of Central Asia ; but it does not appear to receive any sanction from the *Rigveda* and it gained a wider prevalence in India only in later times. The customs of infant marriage and enforced widowhood were not found among the Aryans of the Vedic age. It was believed that the righteous dead went to the realms of the kindly King Yama, who was the first of mortals to die. There they dwelt in bliss, enjoying the company of the fathers and the gods.

Almost our only authority for this period is the *Rigveda*, but it will help the student, if we describe here, in

**The Oldest
Aryan
Literature**

as few words as possible, all the four *Vedas*, which form the first and oldest branch of Aryan literature. In their final and completed form they consist of four *Samhitās* or Collections. Of these the *Rigveda Samhitā* is by far the most important. Its Collection contains over 1,000 hymns, addressed to various gods and arranged in ten *Maṇḍalas* or Books. The authorship of some whole Books and groups of hymns is attributed to certain sages (*rishis*), or to the priestly families descended from them. During the period described in this chapter, these Family Books were being gradually formed. They existed separately at first, and were preserved by oral tradition in the families of the priests. We shall see that subsequently they were brought together in one *Samhitā*, and only after writing had become common, were they reduced to written form. A wide interval of several centuries separates the earliest from the latest hymns. Some of the Books appear to be supplements, added to an earlier Collection. Scholars consider that most of the philosophical poems and the only hymn, which refers to the four castes,* belong to the latest period of composition, when the Aryans had been long settled in the Panjāb and some of them had moved towards the east.

The *Sāmaveda* is a much smaller Collection. It is made up of verses compiled from the *Rigveda*, which were to be chanted at the Soma sacrifice. It is of little import-

* The *Purusha Sukta* : *Rigveda* X, 90.

ance to the historian. The *Yajurveda* consists partly of verses (some of which are taken from the *Rigveda*) and partly of prose formulas, which were to be recited by the priest in performing the acts of the several sacrifices. Thus both the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurveda* belong to the period described in the next chapter, when there was so great a development of the sacrificial system.

The *Atharvaveda* contains hymns, incantations, and philosophical pieces. Some of the spells and charms are probably as old as anything in the *Rigveda* and belong to a fire cult and black magic that were in vogue among the Aryans even before they entered India. But, as a whole, the Collection is later than the *Rigveda*; and indeed it was long before the *Atharvaveda* was recognised as a *Veda* at all.

The religion of the Aryans, as revealed to us in the hymns of the *Rigveda*, is composed of many various elements. In some of them we listen to a young and vigorous people, singing with delight and awe the beauty and the wonder of the world in which they live. They adore the great powers of Nature. The wide-spread vault of heaven, the rose-flush of the dawn, the swift stroke of the lightning, and the rushing winds are the activities of personal gods, to whom they offer praise and sacrifice. It is a time of open-air worship, without idol or temple.

From such hymns we may take a few lines, addressed to the Maiden of the Dawn, the goddess Ushas, who is pursued by the Sun:

"This light has come, of all the lights the fairest,
The brilliant brightness has been born, far-shining.
Urged onward for god Savitri's uprising,
Night now has yielded up her place to Morning.

"Arise! the breath, the life, again has reached us:
Darkness has gone away and light is coming.
She leaves a pathway for the sun to travel:
We have arrived where men prolong existence."*

The god Indra was the favourite deity of the warrior chieftains. He it was who smote the celestial demon, Vritra, with his bolt and released the imprisoned waters

* *Rigveda* I, 113 - Macdonell's translation.

to refresh the earth. Him, too, the priests invoked in the day of battle to aid their lords and people against terrestrial foes whether the aboriginal *Dasyus* or rival tribesmen.

But many of the hymns are of a more artificial character. Already in this early age there was a highly developed ritual of sacrifice: and in the hymns to Agni, the bearer of the offering to the gods, and to Soma, the sacred beverage, we hear the voice of priests, who are singing the mystery and the powers of rites that were understood and might be performed by them alone.

There was also the darker side of worship, which is preserved in the most ancient hymns of the *Atharvaveda*. Doubtless the belief in charms and black magic was prevalent among the common people. There was a class of inferior priests or medicine-men, who professed to be able to procure the death of an enemy or to captivate the heart of a maiden by their incantations.

And lastly, in the latest hymns of the *Rigveda*, we find the commencement of philosophic speculation. The sages begin to enquire how the world came into being and who is the God that governs the whole Universe. The riddle seems to be insoluble to one poet, who sings:—

“ Who knows it truly ? who can here declare it ?
Whence was it born ? whence issued this creation ?
And did the gods appear with its production ?
But then who knows from whence it has arisen ?

“ This world-creation, whence it has arisen,
Or whether it has been produced or has not,
He who surveys it in the highest heaven,
He only knows, or ev'n he does not know it.”*

Thus in these ancient hymns there are the germs of the later sacrificial and philosophic systems of India. A progress can be traced from a belief in many gods towards a belief in *One*, who is the source and support of the Universe. But the nature of that *One*, whether Personal Being or Impersonal Substance, is not decided ; it remains an open question.

* *Rigveda* X, 129—Macdonell's translation.

CHAPTER III

The Expansion of the Aryans

B.C. 1000-600

An examination of the hymns of the *Rigveda* shows that the composers of them were familiar with the country in the north-west corner of India, stretching from the Kābul river on the west to the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī in the east. The course of these two latter rivers probably ran at that time through what is now the Ambāla District. The main body of the Aryan tribes was occupying the country between the Indus and the Sutlej—the “land of the five rivers”; but an eastward movement was taking place. Whole clans or the single families of chieftains and priests, in search of a livelihood and ampler territory, moved on to the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, and thence followed the courses of these rivers towards the east. Others marched along by the foot-hills, under the towering walls of the Himālayas, and colonised the country north of the Ganges. There was also a southward movement from the Panjāb into the districts, now known as Sindh and Mālhwā.

There are some reasons for thinking that this expansion was not due simply to the natural increase in the number of the Aryan peoples, or to their desire to conquer and civilise. Possibly, after the first colonists had settled in the Panjāb, there was a second invasion of Aryan tribes by way of Chitrāl and Swāt. These, coming in from behind, burst through the masses in front of them like a wedge, or drove them onwards and outwards in all directions.

We depend for our knowledge of this age largely upon the *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, and the *Brāhmaṇas*. These last may be described as sacrificial treatises, which are intended to accompany the *Vedas*. They direct how

each ceremony shall be performed, and explain the meaning of the verses or formulas, which go along with the numerous stages of the sacrifice. Ancient tales of some historical value are embedded here and there in the masses of instruction concerning the ritual.

**The Evidence
of the
Brahmanas**

Comparing these books with the *Rigveda*, we can discover signs that the Aryans have advanced farther into India. In the *Rigveda* the lion, once common in the north-west, is mentioned; whereas the tiger, that is still found in many parts of the Gangetic plain, appears to be unknown. There is no reference in the *Rigveda* to rice or to the tree, most characteristic of India, the many-rooted banyan, but the name of this occurs several times in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

Moreover, there is a legend in one of the *Brāhmaṇas* preserving the memory of this expansion and the manner in which it was effected. It is said that the king Māthava, of Videgha (Videha), with his family priest, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, was on the banks of the Sarasvatī; and they followed the sacred flame of Agni, which went before them and burned its way over the rivers crossing their path. In former times, so the story runs on, no Brāhmanas dwelt beyond the river Sadānīrā (probably the Gandak) flowing from the Himālaya mountains, and the country on its further bank lay marshy and uncultivated. But the sacred fire having burned across that river also, the king Māthava went over it, the country was brought under cultivation, and now there are many Brāhmanas dwelling east of the river.*

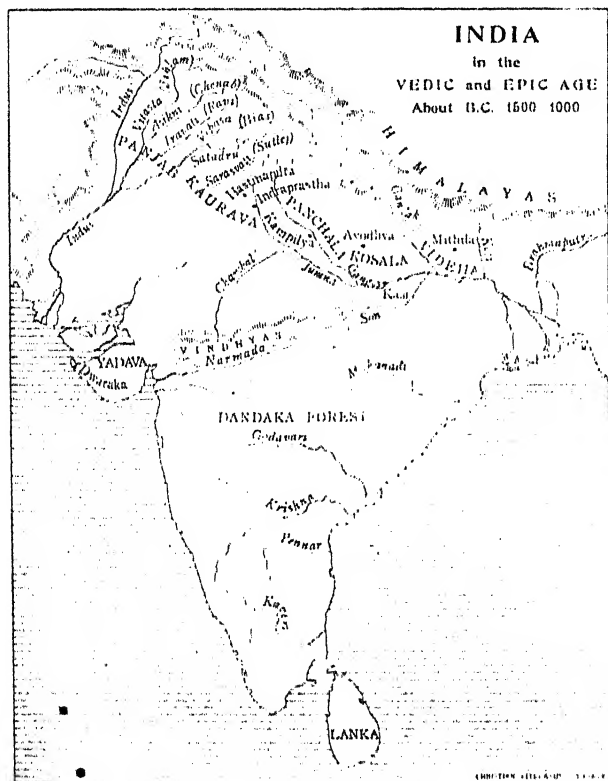
The story shows us, as in a picture, the nature of this Aryan expansion. King and priest go together, and in many parts the advance was rather in the nature of a peaceful penetration than of conquest by war. The priest sets up his altars wherever he goes. He teaches everywhere that the sacrifice is all-powerful, and that the priest is to be revered above all men.

We are able to trace some of the stages of this eastward movement in the geographical terms of the *Mānava*

* *Satapatha Brahmana*, i, 4-1-10.

Dharma Śāstra. The small district, lying between the Sarasvatī* and the Drishadvatī, was known as the **The Geographical Terms of Manu** Brahmvārita. It was regarded as the home of the Vedas; and here perhaps the hymns of the *Rigveda* were brought together into one Collection. It was bounded on the east and

The Geographical Terms of Manu



south by Kurukshetra and the country of the Matsyas, Panchālas and Sūrasenakas. This double region, lying

* Probably the Sarasvatī was once a tributary of the Sutlej; it is now a small stream losing itself in the desert sands.

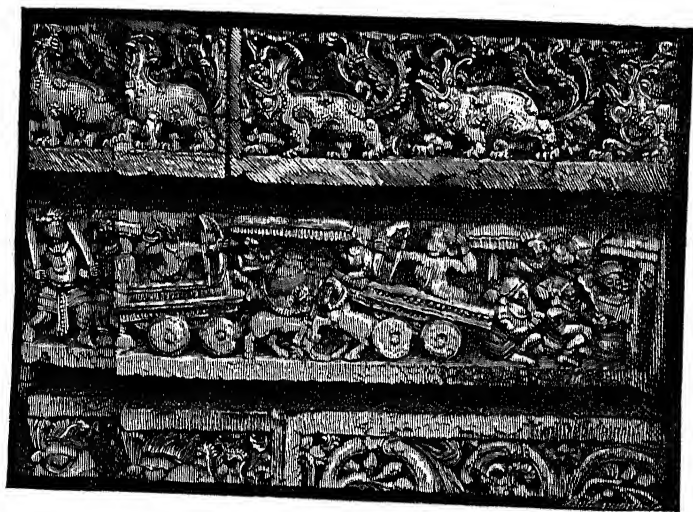
on both banks of the Jumna, was the abode of the Brahmarshis; and all men on the earth were to learn their duties from a Brāhman of this land. The whole country between the Himālayan and Vindhyan ranges on the north and south and the two oceans on the west and east was the Āryāvarta, fit for the habitation of twice-born men. These names appear to point back to a time when the Brāhman civilisation, starting from the west, had covered the whole of upper India, but the region south of the Vindhyas had not yet been explored and was regarded as barbarous and unclean. The tract between the Sutlej and the Jumna was held to be most sacred; for it had been the first home of Aryan usages. It was, however, ill adapted to be the chief seat of the Brāhman civilisation, since it was infested by wild tribes and exposed to foreign invasion. The kingdoms of the basin of the Ganges were more peaceful and settled, and among them great centres of Brāhman influence were formed and the caste system was developed. Thus in course of time the Brāhmans of the east came to despise the Aryans of the west as less civilised and orthodox than themselves.

The same conclusion may be drawn from the study of the two great Epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In its present form the *Mahābhārata* is a work of enormous bulk, but originally it must have been a much smaller poem, recited by the bards and telling the story of an ancient conflict between two neighbouring families or nations. Such large additions have been made to the poem that it has become a *Dharmaśāstra*, or a popular compendium of Hindu religion, morality, and political science. The text of the *Mahābhārata*, as we have it to-day, was probably not completed till after the commencement of the Christian era, but the war, of which it preserves the memory, may have been waged a thousand years before Christ.

If we regard only the story of the Epic, which is the nucleus around which all the rest has grown, we shall see that it deals with events in the country of the Kurus and Panchālas. Kurukshetra lay to the west of the Jumna;

while the land of the Panchālas was on the eastern bank and included the Doab, or tract between the Jumna and the Ganges.

The story is that in the capital city of Hastināpura (about sixty miles from Delhi) there lived two royal brothers, Dhṛitarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu. The elder was blind and gave over the government of his realm to the younger. In course of time Pāṇḍu died and Dhṛitarāshṭra assumed the power again. He made, however, his



A BATTLE SCENE FROM THE MAHABHARATA

nephew, Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, his heir. This led to jealousy among his own hundred sons, the Kauravas. The Kauravas plotted against the Pāṇḍava brothers, who took to flight and found sanctuary in the Panchāla kingdom, where Arjuna won the hand of the princess Draupadī by his skill in archery. To secure peace at home Dhṛitarāshṭra divided his kingdom, assigning Hastināpura to his sons and the southern district to the Pāṇḍavas, who built there a new capital at Indraprastha (Delhi). This expedient proved a failure; for in a gambling match Duryodhana won from

Yudhishṭhira all his kingdom and even Draupadī, the common wife of the five brothers. An agreement, however, was made, according to which the Pāṇḍavas were to wander in exile for twelve years and to remain in hiding during the thirteenth. They took refuge with the king of the Matsyas, south of the Jumna, and when the country was invaded by the Kurus, they fought on the side of the Matsyas and expelled the foe. The thirteen years had now expired and the Pāṇḍavas demanded back their kingdom. Upon the Kauravas refusing, both sides prepared for war and summoned their allies. The most famous of these is Kṛishṇa, the king of the Yādavas, who came from his capital of Dvārakā in Gujarat to the aid of the Pāṇḍavas. The battle lasted for eighteen days and ended in the death of all the principal combatants, save the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛishṇa, and Yudhishṭhira was crowned king at Hastināpura.

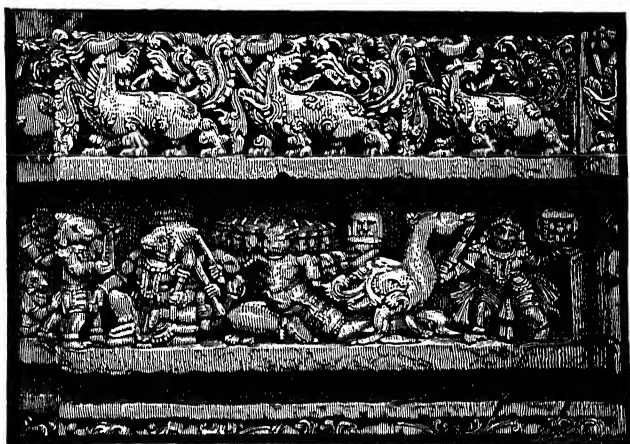
It is possible that the story used to be told in quite another way: but we have only to notice here that the legends of the *Mahābhārata* go back to a time when Kurukshetra was a great centre of Aryan civilisation and there were many small kingdoms around it. These entered into marriage relationships and political alliances with one another, or were engaged in destructive warfare.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is a much shorter poem, in bulk less than a quarter of the *Mahābhārata*, and there is no

difficulty in accepting the tradition, with certain minor reservations, that it is the work of one author, Vālmīki. This poet may have lived in the sixth century before Christ, and he belonged to the Kosala country, of which Ayodhyā (Oudh) was the capital. He tells the story of the hero Rāma, who had married Sītā, the lovely daughter of Janaka, the learned king of the neighbouring State of Videha. Kaikeyī, the second wife of Daśaratha, persuades her aged husband into appointing her own son, Bharata, as his successor. Rāma, the lawful heir to the throne, sets out on his wanderings, accompanied by his wife and his loyal half-brother, Lakshmaṇa. There is no need to relate here the story of their adventures in the forests of Southern India—of the abduction of Sītā by the giant demon, Rāvaṇa,

of the help of Hanumān, the monkey-chieftain, of the building of the bridge across the sea to Lankā (Ceylon), and the destruction of the demon in his island stronghold, and of the return of Rāma to reign in happiness among his people. Who is there in India that does not know the tale?

We shall observe only that in this story the centre of civilisation seems to have shifted from the Kuru-Panchāla country on the banks of the Jumna to the Kosala-Videha country on the banks of the Gandak—from the courts of Hastināpura and Kāmpilyā to those of Ayodhyā and



SCENE FROM RAMAYANA RAVANA

Mithilā: and we see plainly that in the time of Vālmiki the south was still regarded as outside the pale of the Aryan civilisation; for those southern regions in which Rāma wandered are described as covered with dense forests and inhabited by terrible demons and monkey tribes.

It is likely, however, that the process of introducing the Aryan civilisation to the south had already begun and was going on at this early period; for Rāma is said to have visited the sage Agastya in his hermitage on Mount Kunjara. A legend, connected with the name of this

Rishi, relates that the Vindhya bowed at his command to admit of his passing through them, and in the Tamil country Agastya is revered as the first teacher of Aryan science to the peoples of the south.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.—The first characteristic of this later period of Aryan civilisation is the increase in wealth and luxury. The **The Growth of** Aryas of the early Vedic age are a pastoral **Luxury** and agricultural people, who sing of their simple treasures in herds of cows and grain. Now, however, there has been a growth of kingly power. We are dealing no longer with chiefs chosen by their fellow nobles or by the assemblies of the tribesmen, but with absolute monarchs who rule in their own right and transmit their sovereignty to their sons. The power of the people seems to have declined, and they have no voice in the election of their rulers. Instead of military service being common to all, the army is composed of hired soldiers, who are the king's own retainers and are paid out of his purse. There are numerous kingdoms with rich and populous capital cities, where the princes hold magnificent courts.

This change has not been brought about by a slow and natural growth among unmixed Aryan tribes, abiding in their original territories. It is due to the fusion of the Aryan and Dravidian civilisations. As the Aryan tribes have penetrated farther into the peninsula, they have entered a region of peaceful occupation and accumulated wealth and there has been a mingling of races.

Secondly, a still more noteworthy feature of this age is the rise of the priesthood in influence and rank. The **The** priests now claim to be the first order in the **Supremacy of** State. In these times of greater peace and **the Priesthood** security, under the shadow and protection of kings, they elaborate in an amazing way the intricacies and the mysteries of the sacrifice. The priest had been the companion and servant of the king; now he becomes superior to the king. He teaches that the whole course of the world is moved and controlled by sacrifice, so that the priest is the real god and wields the powers of the

Universe. The ritual is developed, until sacrifices become so costly that only princes can procure them and only highly trained priests can perform them.

In this age the various sets of hymns, handed down orally in the families of the priests from father to son, are gathered into one Collection or *Samhitā* of the *Rigveda*, and the most ingenious and elaborate arrangements are made to fix and preserve the text for all time. The two subsidiary Collections, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurveda*, are formed for chanting or uttering at the sacrifice. These are accompanied by the tedious and unprofitable treatises on the meaning and right performance of sacrifice, which are known as the *Brāhmaṇas*. Different schools of Brāhman learning arise, each with its own branch of the *Veda*, and are scattered widely, as they go forth from the centres of Brāhman civilisation and follow the diverging lines of its advance.

Now, too, the system of caste approaches more closely to its modern shape. In the newly entered regions the Aryans were comparatively few in number. There was nothing to keep apart the Commons of the Aryan and Dravidian races. Thus the *Vaiśyas*—the herdsmen and husbandmen of the Aryan communities—rapidly melted away into the masses of the surrounding population. The priests felt it necessary, therefore, to increase the prestige and authority of the king and royal family, and especially to draw closer the bonds of their ancient corporations. The maintenance of political authority and the perpetuation of sacred lore alike seemed to depend on preserving purity of blood. The great mass of the non-Aryan peoples were classed as *Śūdras*, and places were found in the caste system for the numerous families of mixed descent. This was a principle of classification readily understood and adopted by the people. In course of time, every social distinction, created by race or sect or language or occupation, hardened into a caste division, and communities were formed, which confined the chief modes of social intercourse—the common meal and the marriage relationship—strictly within their own borders.

The Origin of the Caste System

CHAPTER IV

The Rise of Jainism and Buddhism

B.C. 600-350

We are now entering upon a period, when the figures of great men begin to loom up through the darkness of the past. It is the age made illustrious by the names of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra Jnātrīputra, the founder of the Jain religion, and Gautama, the son of the Śākya chieftain who is better known by the title of the Buddha or 'Enlightened One'.

It is necessary that we should form first a picture of the political conditions of the time. In our last chapter we saw that the plain of the Ganges had become a great centre of Aryan civilisation; and in this age, too, the principal events take place in that region. We depend for our information largely upon the Jain and Buddhist Sacred Books. These abound in legends that have been examined very imperfectly as yet by historians.

We read in them of Pajjota, the fierce king of Avanti (Mālwā), whose capital was at Ujjain. His rival, matching him in ferocity, was Udena, king of the Vamsas (Vatsas), whose capital lay on the Jumna at Kosambi (Kauśāmbi). We hear, too, of the wars between King Pasenadi (Prasenajit), who ruled all the Kosala country, and Ajātasattu (Ajātasātru), the king of Magadha; and of the bloody revenge that was taken by Viṣṇudabha (Virūdhaka) on the Śākya clan for the deceit they had practised upon his father in giving him in marriage the daughter of a slave-woman instead of a maiden of noble blood.*

Beside these kingdoms there were existing at this time a number of tribal republics, which exercised a powerful influence upon their age. They are the deposits of that stream of Aryan invasion, which flowed along

* In several instances both the Prākṛit and Sanskrit forms of proper names have been given. The name in brackets is the Sanskrit form.

under the walls of the Himālayas. The two most important of these were the Śākya and Lichchhavi clans. The former occupied a territory on the southern border of Nepāl, and their capital was the city of Kapilavastu. The affairs of the city or tribe were managed by a council of nobles assembling in their mote-hall (*santhāgāra*), out of whom one was chosen as president and leader (*Rāja*). The Lichchhavis were more powerful than the Śākyas. They lived nearer to the Ganges and seem to have united with the Videhas. Their capital was Vaiśālī, about twenty-five miles north of the river, over against the modern town of Patna. We shall see shortly how the characteristic movements of the age arose among the nobles belonging to these republics.

There are also traditions in the oldest Hindu *Purāṇas* which fit in with the Buddhist tales. Some of them contain dynastic lists of the early Magadhan kingdom.

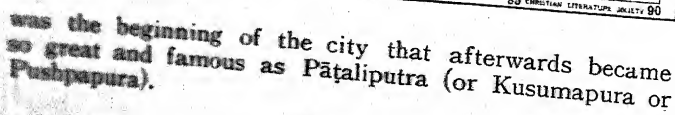
**The
Kingdom of
Magadha**

The first dynasty, of which history can take note, is the Śiśunāga line, which ruled the kingdom of Magadha for three centuries. The dynasty is named after its reputed founder, Śiśunāga, who lived about the beginning of the sixth century before Christ. The fifth king of the line was Bimbisāra. He left the old rock capital of his State (Giribajja)—the walls of which remain to this day and are probably the oldest stone buildings in India and built a more commodious town at the foot of the hills, the new Rājagriha. Bimbisāra effected the conquest of his eastern neighbours, the Angas, and added their territory to his own. On the west the kingdom of Kāśī was also in his possession, having been given as a dowry to him along with the hand of Kosala Devī, the sister of Prasenajit, king of the Kosala country. Bimbisāra came to an untimely end. He is said to have been starved to death by his own son, Ajātaśatru, who coveted the throne. To avenge this crime and the mortal grief of his sister, the king of Kosala made war on Ajātaśatru. The fortunes of the campaign are obscure, but in the end Ajātaśatru seems to have prospered, for he received the hand of Prasenajit's daughter in marriage.

Ajātaśatru then carried his army across the Ganges into the territory of the powerful Lichchhavis. He storm-

HISTORY OF INDIA

ed their capital, Vaisāli, and erected a fortress on the southern bank of the river to hold them in check. This



The Śaiśunāga dynasty seems to have come to an end about the middle of the fourth century before Christ. The last king of the line is said to have been murdered by a barber, who usurped the throne and founded the Nanda dynasty.

In the last chapter we traced the growth of the priesthood influence. We saw that the teaching about

**The Protest
against
Sacrifice**

the sacrifice was developed to an extraordinary pitch. All the while another process of thought was going on. There were many earnest seekers, who had little interest and found no satisfaction in the fanciful speculations of the priests. The sacrificial ritual was both foolish and oppressive to them. Their minds were revolving the great problems with which the *Rigveda* ends. What is the Universe? How did it come into being? What is the soul (*ātman*) within man? What law governs birth and death? These were some of the questions to which they sought an answer. Many of them forsook the household with all its duties and retired to the woods, where they gave themselves up to meditation; or else they inflicted the severest privations and tortures upon their bodies. The courts of the kings and halls of the nobles were frequented by wandering sages, who were ready to discuss these great issues with all comers; and there were also teachers of renown, who might be persuaded to impart their secret doctrine to worthy disciples.

Of course many of the Brāhmins contributed to this intellectual and religious ferment; but some of the kings and nobles also were leaders. There was a natural rivalry between prince and priest, that has continued down to our own day. The memory of an ancient feud is preserved in the legend of Paraśurāma. The *Brāhmaṇas* themselves give the names of some of these Rājarshis, or Royal Sages, from whom the new knowledge was derived. Thus five Brāhmins, great householders and learned in the *Veda*, are said to have gone for enlightenment to king Aśvapati Kaikeya; and the far-famed Vedic scholar, Gārgya Bālāki, was corrected and instructed by king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī. This higher knowledge is set out in the *Upanishads* a name which signifies, perhaps, 'secret

instruction'. Its leading tenets are that the world has been evolved from the Universal Soul and that the Universal Soul is the Self within us. The inequalities of our human lot are explained by the doctrines of *Karma* and Transmigration, which now come into vogue.

In such a crisis as this Māhāvīra Jñātiputra and Gautama arise. The stream of thought that has long run underground comes forth into the day-light. Jainism and Buddhism are, in a sense, a protest in favour of reason and morality against the intolerable burden and folly of the sacrificial cult. Both religions lay stress on right knowledge and virtuous conduct as more important for salvation than Vedic sacrifice.

The tendency was too strong to be resisted, and the protest had too much of truth in it to be ignored. Before

long the Brāhmins had joined the new knowledge on to the body of the Vedic ritual. **Atman Know-
ledge becomes
Vedānta** The *Āraṇyakas* or Forest-books are added to some of the *Brāhmaṇas* as their concluding

portion. These contain the doctrine of the Ātman, which is to be learnt in the seclusion of the forest. The leading *Upanishads*—by whomsoever composed, Brāhman or Kshatriya—are recognised as *Vedānta*, the completion and crown of Vedic learning.

The need for acquiring the higher knowledge is thus admitted and allowed; but lest a Brāhman should forsake untimely the duties he owed to the household and the caste, the theory of *Āśramas* was devised. In this the plan of an ideal life is sketched in four stages. First comes the student (*brahmāchārī*), then the householder (*grihastha*), and finally, when social and sacrificial obligations have been discharged, the Brāhman may become a forest-dweller (*vānaprastha*) or ascetic (*sannyāsi*), whose only duty is to realise the highest truth.

It must not be supposed that this change took place all at once. The process was going on for some centuries, and probably was not completed until the second century before Christ. This, however, is the most convenient place for us to take a bird's eye view of the whole.

Let us now turn to two of the leaders in the new movements. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra Jñātiputra was a

native of Vaiśālī. He was the son of a nobleman who had been a Rāja or ruling chief in the State. He retired from the world when about thirty years of age, and for more than forty years wandered about in the regions of north and south Bihār. He established an order of monks and died somewhere about the year B.C. 500. He taught that evil

The Life and Teaching of Mahāvira

is inherent in matter and that, until the soul is released from the body, there can be no true bliss.

The body, therefore, must be subjugated utterly. Deliverance from evil may be obtained by right knowledge of matter and spirit, by right faith in teacher and scripture, and by right conduct, such as charity, refraining from doing harm to any living creature, honesty and truthfulness. The disciples of Mahāvira soon acquired the name of *Jainas* or *Jains*—that is, the followers of the *Jinas*, who have conquered the flesh,

but they were called originally *Nirgranthas*, or the 'Bondless'.

Gautama was the son of a Śākya nobleman, Śuddhodana by name, also like Mahāvira's father a Rāja of his clan. The pillar, erected by the Emperor Aśoka to mark the traditional birth-place of Gautama in the Lumbinī garden at Rumi-

The Life and Teaching of Buddha



AN IMAGE OF BUDDHA FROM GANDHARA—
ON THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER

mindei,* has been discovered recently. It is said that, even as a lad, Gautama was impressed with the misery of human life by seeing a beggar, a leper, and a dead man in the bazaar of his native city. After he had come to manhood, he left his home, forsaking wife and child, in search of truth and peace. He became a disciple of two Brāhman sages, but found no rest in their teaching. For several years he wandered about as an ascetic and put his body to the severest tortures. This too was in vain. At last, after a long course of seeking and a night of dreadful conflict—so it is written—the great truth which makes men free dawned upon him, as he sat under a tree at Gayā. This spot became the most venerated place of Buddhist pilgrimage, and the tree was known as the Bodhi tree, or 'tree of wisdom'. Thenceforward Gautama now become Buddha or the 'Enlightened One', moved from place to place in the kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, and Kāśī, and among the Śākya and Licchhavi nobles, teaching his doctrine to all willing hearers. The substance of this is contained in the Four Great Truths, that all human existence is suffering, that desire is the cause of suffering, that release from suffering may be obtained by extinguishing desire, and that this extinction is effected by following the Eight-fold Path of right belief and resolve, right word and act, right life and effort, right thinking and meditation.

It is not probable that Buddha taught the common people that the caste system was unjust or that their gods were false; he declared to them simply that the most excellent way was to accept his doctrine, and he invited those who were able to join his monastic Order, the *Saṅgha*. Neither did he proclaim openly that *Nirvāṇa*—the final state of deliverance—is the annihilation of the soul and consciousness, like the blowing out of the flame of a lamp, though that may have been his own belief. He taught every man that he must be gentle, truthful, and harmless. As he went about, he gathered many adherents, especially among the nobles and merchants;

* Four miles inside the border of Nepāl, and a little to the west of the Tilār river.

but all were made welcome, and the meanest might join the brotherhood or sisterhood of the monks and nuns (*bhikshu*, *bhikshunī*). Soon monasteries and convents were reared in many places, and kings granted broad lands around them to form parks, within which the monks and nuns took their gentle pleasures abroad.

Buddha lived to a great age and died at Kuśinagara perhaps in the year B.C. 487. Feeling his end approaching he said to his beloved disciple, Ānanda:—

“O, Ānanda, I am now grown old and full of years and my journey is drawing to its close. I have reached eighty years—my sum of days—and just as a worn-out cart can only with much care be made to move along, so my body can only be kept going with difficulty. . . In future be ye to yourselves your own light, your own refuge: seek no other refuge. Hold fast to the truth as your light: hold fast to the truth as your refuge. . . The truths and the rules of the Order, which I have taught and preached, let these be your teacher, when I am gone.”

A thrilling discovery of recent years is that of the Piprāvā Stūpa, or mausoleum, on the site of the ancient city of Kapilavastu.* This mound was found to contain a stone vase, in which Buddha's Śākya kinsmen had buried the few bone fragments, which they had received as their share of his remains and had carried thither from the funeral pyre at Kuśinagara.

During this period language and literature underwent great developments. Sanskrit, or *Samskrīta*, the ‘elaborated’ dialect, was used chiefly or solely in the



PIPRAVA VASE

* In the north of the Basti District, Nepalese Tarai.

**The History
of the
Languages**

Brāhman schools. In the fourth century Pāṇini composed the Grammar, which helped so greatly to fix the forms of this highly wrought language, and it has remained a standard work ever since. Pāṇini summed up and completed the labours of his predecessors, Yāska and others. His Grammar is the first example of a class of school text-books—as they may be termed—which we have had occasion to mention. It consists of a set of aphorisms or brief and pithy phrases, known as *Sūtras* or 'threads', on which are strung as many as possible of the gems of knowledge.

Collections of *Sūtras* were made on all manner of subjects. The teacher was still in the habit of giving instruction orally, and the scholar was required to commit his lessons to memory: but the sacred literature had increased vastly in bulk, and it was necessary, therefore, to invent some convenient method of condensing the sciences. Hence the *Śrauta Sūtras*, summarising the great sacrificial treatises, the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, compendiums of domestic ritual, the *Dharma Sūtras*, or Abstracts of Law, and many other works of the same kind came into existence in the schools. The characteristic of these compilations is their intense brevity. "The saving of one syllable in a *Sūtra*", it was said, "gives more pleasure than the birth of a son." The period usually assigned for the composition of the most ancient and authoritative of these text-books is that from B.C. 600 to 200.

This method was followed by the Jains and Buddhists, who produced their own sets of *Suttas* or *Sūtras*; and the wider sympathy which was a feature of the new religions was shown in the language they preferred to use. Both Mahāvīra and Buddha were accustomed to give instruction in the popular dialect, or *Prākṛit* of Magadha; and the earliest religious books of the Jains and Buddhists were composed in the same or similar dialects. In this way a considerable body of literature in the various *Prākṛits* was formed. But as the centuries rolled by and the speech of the people changed, these *Prākṛits* themselves became dead languages, which were no more understood by the masses than the Sanskrit of the Brāhman schools. Finally they were superseded among the learned

by Sanskrit itself, which language both Jains and Buddhists had been using for purposes of public debate and literature for some centuries before the Muhammadan conquest of India.

Meanwhile, however, the modern vernaculars of India were taking shape, and all of these, which belong to the Aryan family—such as Panjābī, Marāthī, Hindī, and Bengālī—are derived from one or other of the old *Prākṛits*.

CHAPTER V

The Invasion of Alexander the Great

B.C. 327-325

The earliest foreign notice of India is in two inscriptions of Darius I (B.C. 521-485), under whom the Persian Empire was greatly extended. These inscriptions were found, one of them amid the ruins of the ancient city of Persepolis, and the other at Naksh-i-Rustam, a few miles distant, where Darius had caused a tomb to be excavated for himself out of the cliffs. India is mentioned among the satrapies of the Empire, and evidently yielded a large annual tribute to the king's treasury. Darius sent an expedition to India under Skylax. This general penetrated into the Panjāb and there fitting out a fleet of boats, he navigated the Indus to its mouth and returned home ultimately by a sea route. The Indian satrapy of Darius can have consisted only of the territories adjacent to the Indus.

India came directly into touch with the Greek civilisation through the military prowess of Alexander the Great. This son of Philip, King of Macedonia, had crossed the Dardanelles and in two or three decisive battles made himself master of the whole of the Persian Empire. The hordes of Asia Minor proved no match for his smaller but perfectly disciplined forces. Alexander's ambition was only increased by success, and he came to imagine himself of more than mortal birth—a son of Zeus. While he gave way at times to excesses of cruelty and self-indulgence and disgusted his noblest captains by his vanity and arrogance, he remained the idol of his veteran soldiers, peerless as he was in generalship and personal courage, and capable of high and generous actions. Alexander had formed the idea of a world-wide conquest, and in pursuit of this aim he set his armies in motion once more for a campaign in the remoter and little known East.

Alexander's
Conquest of
Persia

In the spring of the year B.C. 327 Alexander's preparations were complete. He split up his army into two divisions, sending one on in advance down the valley of the Kābul river into the Panjāb. Here, at a place which has been

identified with Ohind, it was halted and materials were collected for bridging the Indus. With the second division Alexander turned northwards into the region of Bājaur and Suwāt, storming in succession the strongholds of the savage tribesmen. By these operations the Macedonian hero secured himself from any attack on his flank, and he united his forces again at Ohind.

Early in the following year (B.C. 326) he resumed the campaign, crossing the river by the bridge and directing his march upon Takshaśīla.*

This city was the capital of a king Āmbhi, who had already tendered his submission to Alexander in the hope of obtaining his aid to conquer his neighbour and enemy, Poros. The Greek army, after being entertained sumptuously at Takshaśīla, continued its advance eastwards to meet Poros, who had

posted himself on the eastern bank of the Jihlam river and was awaiting attack there. Alexander found the river swollen with the melting snows and running deep and strong, but he discovered a con-



BUST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

**The Defeat of
Poros :
B.C. 326**

* Otherwise spelt Taxila, north-west of Rāwalpindī--a famous city in later days.

venient crossing about sixteen miles above his camp, masked by a wooded island in the middle of the stream. In the darkness of a wild night he marched unobserved with a picked force of about twelve thousand men to this spot, and with some difficulty he succeeded in gaining the farther bank by daylight. In the morning the news came to Poros that the Greeks were across the river, and were advancing in battle-array upon his camp. The Indian king moved out from his lines and took up a position on what is now known as the Karri plain. He placed his chariots and cavalry on either wing, and in the centre posted the mass of his infantry, among whom the elephants were disposed at regular intervals, towering aloft like the turrets above a city wall.

The Greek cavalry charged upon the flanks and quickly drove the Indian horsemen back in confusion upon the infantry. Then Alexander's foot-soldiers, linking their shields and moving in the solid formation of the Macedonian phalanx, bore down upon Poros' centre. His men gave way at the first assault, but the elephants, maddened by their wounds, broke through the ranks of the Macedonians, and the Indians rallied for a moment. The Greek horse and foot returned to the charge; the army of Poros was completely enveloped, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Poros himself, a giant six and a half feet high, fought bravely from his elephant to the end and was severely wounded; but he surrendered at the entreaty of Alexander, who was anxious to spare so brave a foe. When asked how he would be dealt with, he replied simply—"As a King". Alexander, pleased with his courage and the dignity of his answer, not only granted him his life but also restored his kingdom to him. From that time Poros acted as a faithful ally of his conqueror.

Alexander paused to found two cities. One of them was on the battle-field, and the other was intended to be a memorial to his famous charger, Bukephalos, which died here. The site is now occupied probably by the modern town of Jihlam. Then the march was resumed. After crossing the Rāvi, Alexander encountered formidable opposition from several of the tribal republics, among

**The Limit
of Alexander's
Conquests**

whom the Kathaioi are mentioned by the Greek historians as chief. Their stronghold, Sangala, in the neighbourhood of Anrītsar, was stormed and razed to the ground. Continuing to advance eastward, Alexander arrived last of all on the banks of the Biās.

Here news was obtained of the Prasioi (probably Prāchyas or 'Easterns'), whose king possessed a mighty army and treasures untold. It is likely that the report referred to Nanda, king of Magadha. Alexander, in an eloquent address, called upon his soldiers to undertake this new labour; but they remained silent with sullen, downcast faces, till at length the valiant cavalry leader, Koinos, ventured to speak on their behalf. He reminded the king that but few were left of all those who had set out with him from Macedonia. Some had been slain in battle; others were exiles in the garrisons of the towns the king had founded or captured; many more had died of wounds, hunger or disease; and those that remained were in rags and enfeebled by many hardships. They desired to return home and look once again on the faces of father and mother, wife and child. Last of all, Koinos entreated Alexander to be temperate in the midst of success and not to provoke the wrath of the gods by daring too greatly. Alexander waited for three days, hoping that the mood of his men might change; but when he saw their hearts were set upon home, he reluctantly gave the order for the retreat, and turned his back upon a world still unexplored and unconquered.

He retired as far as the river Jihlam, where he received large reinforcements and new equipment for his soldiers. After resting his men for a while he set about the building of a large fleet of boats for a voyage down the Indus to the ocean.

The Retreat

To secure the safety of the fleet, he arranged that two strong bodies should accompany it on either bank, directed by two of his ablest generals, while he himself commanded the troops in the transports. Alexander had not proceeded far on this venturesome voyage when he met with danger. In the rapids and whirlpools at the confluence of the Chināb and the Jihlam, two vessels were sunk and Alexander's own ship was in imminent peril of being over-

whelmed. Besides, there was the opposition of the surrounding nations to overcome. The most formidable enemies encountered were the Malloi (perhaps the Mālavas) on the left bank of the river. But before they could gather their forces, Alexander was upon them, had stormed their principal cities, and reduced them to helplessness. In an assault upon one of their towns, he was dangerously wounded and came near to losing his life. At length the delta of the Indus was reached. The crews of the fleet were much alarmed at the ebb and flow of the waters in the estuary, which first stranded their vessels in the mud and then raised them high and dashed them together in confusion. They had been accustomed only to the tideless waters of the Mediterranean. Alexander explored both main branches of the river as far as the open sea, where he offered prayers and libations to his gods, throwing the golden cups he had used into the deep. A city was founded and docks were constructed at the junction of the two branches.

The campaign being over, Alexander divided his army into two portions. The sailors and marines were sent by sea along the coast under the charge of the Admiral Nearchos. Alexander led the remainder back to Persia by a land route through Sistān and the countries bordering on the ocean. They endured terrible sufferings from the heat of the sun and the scarcity of water, and lost in the burning sands of the desert most of their hard-won spoils of war. Yet, surmounting all privations and perils, Alexander reached Sūsa in the spring of the year B.C. 323 where he was joined presently by the forces under Nearchos.

In the following year Alexander died at Babylon, and upon his death the vast empire he had acquired by his unrivalled prowess and military skill fell asunder and was divided among his principal generals. Before leaving India, he had appointed Poros to govern the region between the Jihlam and the Biās, and Āmbhi to govern the country between the Jihlam and the Indus. Philippos, a Greek, had been made Satrap of the territory west of the Indus, while Peithon was put in charge of the Delta. All these

**The Break-up
of Alexander's
Empire**

arrangements fell through within a few years of the king's death. Philippos, indeed, had been assassinated before Alexander reached Sūsa, and Peithon was compelled soon after to retreat into Balūchistān.

Thus Alexander appears on the page of Indian history as a meteor that flashes across the darkness of the night and is gone. He effected a brilliant raid, but no settled occupation or government of Indian territory; and the influence of the Greek civilisation that came through him was slight indeed. There was a realm of thought in India that Alexander did not enter and could not subdue. We shall see that small semi-Greek dynasties arose later in Afghānistān and the Panjāb. They were the indirect results of Alexander's eastern conquests; but we cannot prove that even these affected in any appreciable degree the course of Indian history.

CHAPTER VI

The Mauryan Empire: Sunga and Kanva Dynasties

About B.C. 321-27

Hitherto we have been dealing with kingdoms of comparatively small extent. The Greek historians of Alexander's campaign reveal to view a number of separate States in the north-west, such as those of Āmbhi, Poros and Mousikanos. These were often divided by feuds, and weakened by war. In some of them there seems to have been a fair degree of civilisation. We read of cities inhabited wholly by Brāhmans, and of the Brāhman ministers, who attended and advised the king. But savage and uncivilised tribes were scattered among the more advanced peoples; and they had opposed Alexander's march in uncouth garb with their rudely fashioned weapons.

In this chapter we have to tell the story of the rise and decline of the first great empire in India, which is known to history.

CHANDRAGUPTA, THE MAURYA: B.C. 321-297.—The provinces over-run by Alexander quickly shook off their allegiance to his deputies. Within a short time after his death few traces were left in India of his power. Probably the person, who had most to do with this revolt, was a young man, named Chandragupta. He seems to have been related to the Nanda family of Magadha, and is said to have been the son of a low-caste woman, Murā, from whom his dynasty derived its name.

Alexander had appointed one, Eudamos, to succeed in the Panjāb to the murdered Philippos. Eudamos remained but a short time and then departed for Persia, taking with him a small force. The few remaining Greek garrisons must have perished by the sword, or been absorbed by the surrounding population. Chandragupta, assisted by his guileful minister, Chāṇakya, made himself

master of the Panjāb. Then he turned eastwards to the kingdom of Magadha, which was even then the largest and richest State in India. He slew the reigning king, being assisted probably by the general discontent and disaffection that had been produced by the injustice and greed of the last of the Nandas.

Thus about the year B.C. 321 Chandragupta became the foremost prince in India. Nor did his good fortune end here. Seleukos Nikator, who had entered into possession of the most easterly part of the Macedonian Empire, having made his throne secure in Persia, attempted to recover the lost Indian provinces (B.C. 305-303). He seems to have met with little success; for he entered into a treaty with Chandragupta, ceding to him all the territory up to the Hindu Kush, giving a daughter in marriage, and obtaining in exchange only a present of five hundred elephants.

Chandragupta was now the ruler of wide lands that stretched from the delta of the Ganges to Afghānistān. It is little wonder that he has been made the hero of one of the most popular of Hindu stories and plays.*

We are fortunate, however, in having a more reliable account of Chandragupta's power than can be expected of a playwright or novelist. Seleukos Nikator sent an ambassador to reside at the court of Chandragupta about the year B.C. 302, and a great part of his Memoirs have been preserved in Greek and Latin authors to this day. Megasthenes gives us a vivid picture of the life at the capital and of the methods of government followed throughout the Empire

**The
Memoirs of
Megasthenes**

The capital was Pāṭaliputra, situated at what was then the confluence of the Sōn and the Ganges. The site is now occupied by the city of Patna and the cantonment of Bankipore. We learn that the city formed a parallelogram, nine miles long and one and a half miles broad. It was defended by a wooden palisading and moat. The ramparts were pierced by sixty-four gates, and strengthened by hundreds of turrets.

The city was administered by six Municipal Boards, which looked after foreigners, supervised the manufactures

* The *Mudra-rakshasa* of Viśākhadatta.

of the artisans, regulated weights and measures, market prices, excise duties, and kept a register of births and deaths.

Chandragupta maintained a huge army, consisting of the usual four arms—infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots; and there was a large military camp near Pāṭaliputra.

Megasthenes distinguishes seven classes among the people:—the philosophers (among whom probably we are to include all the wandering disputants, the ascetics of the woods and caves, Buddhist monks and Brāhman priests); the peasant cultivators who formed the bulk of the population; the nomad tribes of hunters and carriers; the artisans, following the various handicrafts and under the direction of the king's officers; the soldiers, who had now become a distinct class paid by the king and retained always for his service; the government servants such as news-writers and revenue officials; and lastly those few select men who acted as councillors of the king. These were probably Brāhmans engaged in statecraft.* Megasthenes was a foreigner, and it is most probable that he did not understand clearly the nature of the institution of Caste, and that he has made some mistakes in his arrangement of the various classes. He says moreover:—"No one is allowed to marry out of his own class, or to exercise any calling or art except his own. A soldier, for instance, cannot become an husbandman, nor an artisan a philosopher." This may have been the law in the kingdom of Magadha in a time of Brāhman supremacy; but Buddhist records and old dramas indicate that inter-marriages and changes of occupation were by no means infrequent at this time and entailed no penalties. Caste can scarcely have settled as yet into the rigid mould of modern times.

The Crown had a claim on all lands, and ryots paid a tax to the Government amounting, on the average, to a fourth of the produce of their fields. Officers were appointed to supervise the irrigation channels and levy the water-cess. Wars had ceased to be national or tribal concerns; they

**The King
and Methods of
Government**

* There are legends of doubtful value among the Jains that Chandragupta belonged to their religion, and that after abdicating his throne he died in South India as a monk.

were provoked by the ambitions or hatreds of rival princes. While armies were locked in deadly combat, the peasants pursued their peaceful toil in adjoining fields without let or harm.

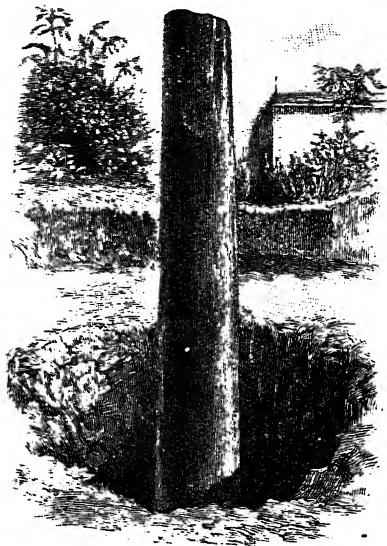
The king's residence at Pātaliputra is said to have surpassed the palaces of Persia in the magnificence of its construction and the luxury of its appointments. It stood in the midst of gardens and fish-ponds, and was built largely of wood overlaid with gold. The king frequently changed his bed-chamber to defeat the designs of conspirators. He took his pleasures in chariot racing, combats of animals, and the chase. When he went forth to the royal preserves to hunt, the way was kept for him on either side with ropes, and he was surrounded by female guards. It was death to break through the cordon.

The king gave audience once a day, and continued to hear complaints, even while he was being massaged by his attendants with ebony rollers. The distant provinces were under the rule of Viceroys, over whom the king kept careful watch through his news-writers. These men acted as spies in every part of the Empire, and sent their reports regularly to their imperial master. They did not disdain to employ the lowest and most disreputable persons as their agents.

The penalties for law-breaking were summary and severe—often mutilation, or even death, for light offences. But at the capital serious crime seems to have been infrequent. Megasthenes testifies to the general honesty and well-being of the people under the powerful hand of Chandragupta.

ASOKA THE PIOUS: ABOUT B.C. 272-231—Very little is known of Chandragupta's son and successor, Bindusāra; but in the third of the Maurya line, Aśoka Vardhana, we reach one of the most illustrious monarchs of India. We are indebted for most of our information about Chandragupta to a foreign ambassador; but Aśoka is his own chronicler. The edicts, which he caused to be engraved on stone pillar or enduring rock, are both a portrait of the man and a record of his work. The farthest west of the Aśokan inscriptions is situated forty miles to the north-

east of Peshāwar, and other two are found almost on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. Some again belong to the region of the Himālayas and the Nepalese frontier: while the most southerly were discovered only recently in the Chitaldrug district of the Mysore State. May we conclude from the existence of these remains that Aśoka's sway extended over all the country marked out by them? Did



AN ASOKAN PILLAR

his empire include Afghānistān, a part of Kashmir and Nepāl, and the whole of India save the southern extremity? The inference is doubtful. The zeal of the missionaries of the Buddhist monarch is known to have out-run the boundaries of his kingdom, and they may have engraved these inscriptions on the rocks of solitudes that did not own the sway of their imperial master. In any case, it is certain that Aśoka's authority over the more remote districts within this area was only of a loose and light order. The local rulers had merely

acknowledged him for the time as their Suzerain,* and his Empire as the paramount power in India. The names of some of the provincial capitals are known—the famous Takshaśila in the Panjāb, Ujjain in Mālwa, and Tosali somewhere in the eastern province. While, however, we may be uncertain as to the exact extent of Aśoka's empire, we may say with confidence that he ruled over a larger area than was governed by any monarch of India before the Mughals.

The chief events of Aśoka's reign may be related briefly. His solemn coronation did not take place apparently till about three years after his accession (B.C. 269), and perhaps there was the usual struggle with brothers and half-brothers before his title was made secure. Eight years later (B.C. 261), he undertook the campaign against Kalinga and added it to his territories. This one experience of war seems to have filled Aśoka with horror of its cruelties. He has recorded his remorse on his tables of stone. One hundred thousand human creatures, he laments, were slain; and even a greater number were led into captivity. Homes were made desolate, and the peace of venerable ascetics and Brāhmans was rudely violated. Henceforward Aśoka took his pleasure, not in barbarous sports, but in religious discourses. The drum beat for the assemblies of the pious instead of rousing the hosts of war. The older the king grew the more strongly he inclined to the religion of Buddha. Four years later (B.C. 257-256) he caused the Fourteen Edicts to be engraved upon the rocks; and in the twenty-first year after his coronation (B.C. 249) he went on a pilgrimage to the Buddhist sacred places, accompanied by his teacher Upagupta. He visited the Lumbini garden, the reputed birth-place of Buddha, setting up a pillar there; and journeyed on into Nepāl, where he founded a city two miles south of Kāthmandū. His daughter, Chārumatī, became abbess of a convent in the neighbourhood. In B.C. 243-242 the pillars, publishing the Seven Edicts, were engraved and set up. Towards the end of his life Aśoka seems to have entered the Order, and thus he became a perfect Buddhist. The Minor Rock Edict belongs probably to the last year of his reign (B.C. 232-231); for in it he takes a review of the results that have accrued to his many and prolonged labours.

Aśoka's fame does not rest upon his military achievements. His victories were the victories of peace and not of war; the chief conquest he sought was the conquest of the evil self. His consuming passion was to establish and to increase among his people *Dhamma* or Righteousness, as a Buddhist understood the term. He writes with a feeling that throbs even in the cold and hard stone:—"Work I must for

**The Aim of
Asoka**

public weal; and for what do I toil? For no other end than this that I may discharge my debt to living beings, and that, while I make some happy in this world, they may in the next world gain heaven.

"With various blessings have former kings blessed the world, as I have done; but in my case, it has been done solely with the intent that men may yield obedience to the Law of Piety."

And what is *Dhamma* or *Dharma* according to Aśoka? It is not difficult to summarise his beliefs. The first part of man's Duty is to show *Reverence* to superiors. This is manifested towards parents by obedience and towards ascetics, monks, and Brāhmans by respectful salutations and liberal gifts. A second branch of Duty is *Harmlessness* towards all living creatures. After his conversion to Buddhism Aśoka refrained himself from cruel sports, and he abolished the royal hunt. He first reduced the number of animals killed in the palace kitchens to one deer and two peacocks daily, and afterwards even this slaughter was prohibited. He discouraged the observance of all feasts and ceremonies that were accompanied by animal sacrifices. Aśoka did not abolish capital punishment; but he celebrated his birthdays by the release of all the criminals in the jails. He forbade prisoners to be tortured, and in his second set of Edicts ordained that three days' respite should be allowed to men condemned to death that they might prepare their souls for another world. A third branch of Duty is *Truthfulness*. The bond of this whole system of morality, or the essence of religion according to Aśoka, is *Self-control*—the restraint of every lustful and violent impulse.

We learn also from the inscriptions what were the means by which Aśoka endeavoured to promote Piety in the world. He informs his subjects that he is accessible to them and willing to hear their complaints at any hour of the day or night, and wherever he may be. His officers are to imitate his diligence and despatch in the conduct of public business, and they are to be inspired by his spirit in dealing with the people. The second Kalinga Edict reproves the officials in that province for indolence and lack of gentleness.

The Methods of Aśoka

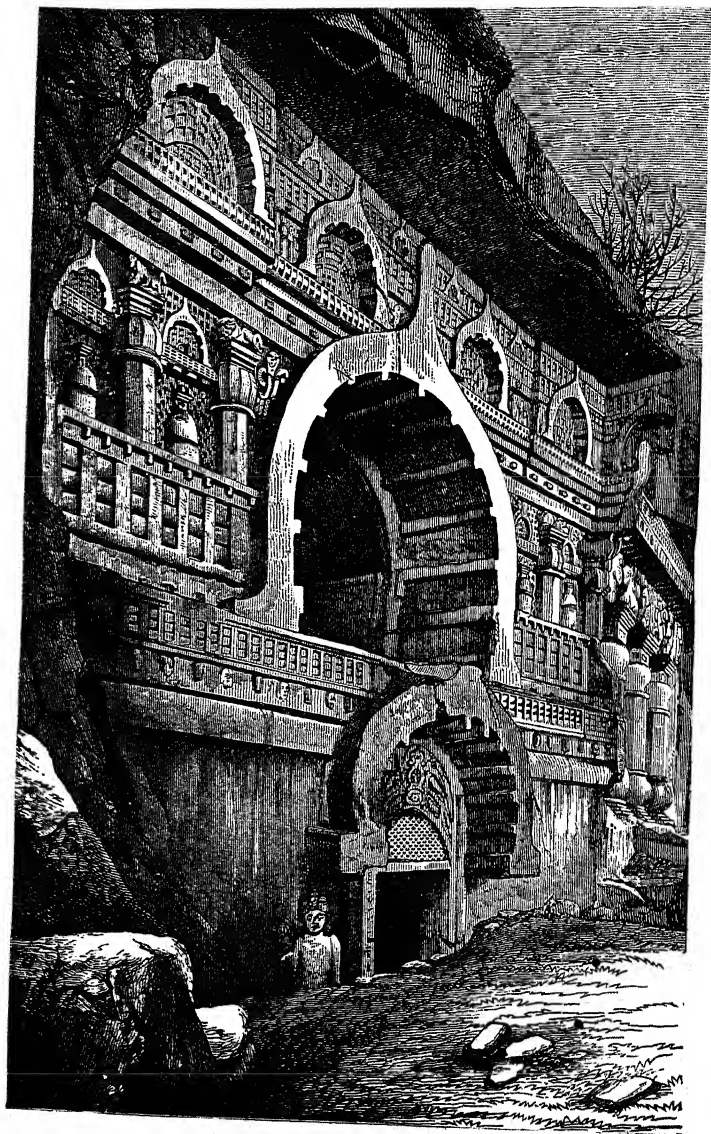
It declares that the Sovereign regards even the uncivilised tribes of that region as his children, and that he has the mind of a father towards them, desiring and seeking their welfare. The State officials are to attend a great assembly, held every five years, at which they and the people shall be reminded of the Sacred Law. Censors of the public morals are appointed to see that the Law is duly observed. Aśoka seems to be haunted by the fear that his children may not walk in his footsteps, and may undo the work of his lifetime by their neglect. Therefore, he will engrave his thought and purpose on the everlasting rocks, that these may speak for him as long as sun and moon endure. "With this aim have I caused this pious edict to be written that it may long endure, and that my sons, grandsons and great grandsons may strive for the public weal."

In Aśoka's reign Buddhist missionaries were sent forth to all parts of India, and far beyond.* Buddhism is said to have been introduced into Ceylon by Mahendra—the king's brother according to one account, his son according to another. The Rock Edicts mention that Buddhist teachers were sent to the countries of the west—to the kings of Syria and Egypt, and even to remote Macedonia, Cyrene, and Epirus.

**Buddhist
Missions**

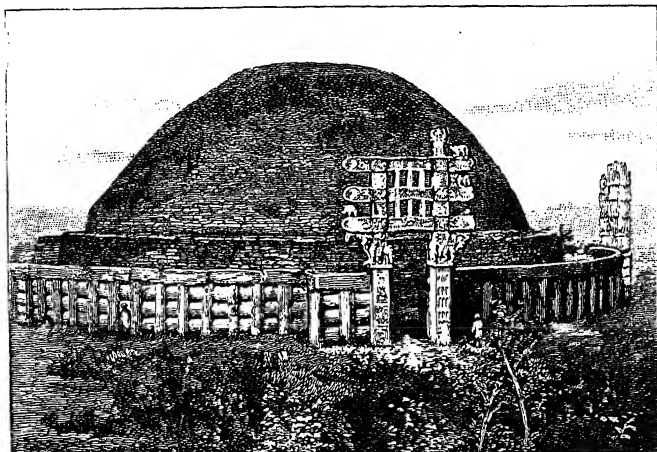
The Emperor had many difficulties to encounter. The Brāhman schools were numerous and influential, though for the moment Buddhist monasteries multiplied and flourished in the sunshine of imperial favour. The common people preferred to walk in the old paths and to worship their favourite local gods and demons. The dark rites of the aboriginal inhabitants, the superstitions of women, and the barbarous customs of uncivilised tribes—these were some of the obstacles that strewed the path of religious reform. • Aśoka was willing to admit that the essence

* A most important passage for Indian chronology is found in Rock Edict XIII, where Asoka says that the victory of *Dharma* has been carried "even to where the Greek king, named Antiochos, dwells and beyond that Antiochos to where dwell the four kings, severally named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas, and Alexander." Knowing the dates of these kings, we are able to calculate with the help of this reference the dates of many events in Indian history, both earlier and later.



ROCK TEMPLES NEAR NASIK

of religion might be found in all religions, so far as they inculcated self-control, and he recognised that not all men were able to enter the Order and to follow the perfect way of Buddha. He commanded, therefore, that the various sects should abstain from violence and slander, and that no man should speak evil of the religion of others; for the injurious word was likely to bring as much harm to the speaker's own religion as to that which he defamed. Yet Aśoka did not allow liberty of conscience in all respects; and there is a note of severity in the Minor Rock Edict,



STUPA AT SANCHI, CENTRAL PROVINCES

which is perhaps the latest of the series. The Emperor is reckoning up the results of his labours, "the fruit of exertion"—and this is it, that "the men, who, all over India, were regarded as true, have been, with their gods, shown to be false." This refers probably to the Brāhmanas, and shows that there must have been some sharp conflicts between Brāhman and Buddhist.

In the legends of Ceylon, Burma and Tibet Aśoka is remembered as the great Buddhist Emperor. He is credited with having erected a vast number of *stūpas*, *vihāras*, and other sacred buildings. The *stūpa* was

generally a hemispherical mound of masonry, raised to cover the relics of some Buddhist saint. The stone railings enclosing it were carved elaborately, the stone being treated almost as if it were the softer and more tractable material of wood, of which the earlier buildings had been erected. The ruins at Sānchi still remain to give us an idea of the magnificence of some of these *stūpas*. Aśoka's palace at Pāṭaliputra was so splendid that later generations declared it to be the work, not of men, but of celestial artisans. Aśoka's ideal of Righteousness was narrow and defective. He laid stress on some duties to the neglect of others, and he extolled the passive virtues at the expense of the active. Yet, in the simplicity and earnestness of his character, he remains a figure for the admiration of all time.

SUNGA AND KANVA DYNASTIES.—Aśoka was succeeded by his son Daśaratha, and four other kings of the line are enumerated; but their power gradually decayed and the boundaries of the Empire were contracted. The last Mauryan emperor was assassinated about the year B.C. 184 by his general Pushyamitra, who founded the Śunga dynasty. Pushyamitra had to face the danger of a two fold encroachment. On the west the Greek king Menander invaded India, over-ran the Panjāb, took Mathurā on the Jumna, and threatened the Magadha kingdom itself. He seems to have been repulsed. In the east another peril arose. Khāravela, the king of Kalinga, once more an independent State, achieved a victory over the Magadhan army. But Pushyamitra seems to have enjoyed some success and prosperity, for his son Agnimitra defeated the Rāja of Vidarbha, and he determined to celebrate the *Aśvamedha* or Horse-Sacrifice. The story goes that his grandson Vasumitra, who was in charge of the sacred animal in its wanderings, defeated a band of Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu when they attempted to carry it off. It is possible that Pātanjali, the grammarian, was present at this ceremony, and it is most probable that Pushyamitra was a patron of the Brāhmins, and that the Buddhist cause lost ground with the withdrawal of royal favour. The Śunga dynasty is

said to have consisted of ten kings. Little or nothing is known of most of them; but towards the end the affairs of the kingdom appear to be very unsettled, and finally Devabhūmi, the last of the line, a worthless and debauched prince, was stabbed to death by a slave-girl at the instigation of the Brāhman minister, Vāsudeva, about the year B.C. 72.

Vāsudeva usurped the throne; but his dynasty, known as the Kānva, including four kings, lasted only for a short time, down to about B.C. 27. The last king, Suśarman, was slain by the Āndhra monarch, and with him the story of the first Magadhan Empire comes to an end.

During this period we can learn very little of the kingdoms of the south. Alexander, as we have seen, penetrated no further into India than to the banks of the Biās, while Megasthenes had a first-hand knowledge only of the countries lying between the upper tributaries of the Indus, and along the Jumna and the Ganges. He states, however, that there was the rich and powerful kingdom of the Andarai (Āndhras) to the south of the Ganges.

**The
Kingdoms of
the South**

There is mention in Sanskrit literature as early as the fourth century before Christ of three southern kingdoms—the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, and Chera. The first of these occupied the southern extremity of the peninsula, the Chōḷa territory lay to the north of it on the Coromandel (Chōḷa-maṇḍala) coast, while the Chera kingdom stretched along the Malabar coast in the west. The edicts of Aśoka contain the names of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms; but instead of Chera, they have the names of Kerala and Satiyaputra. It is likely that the Kerala territory was the southern part of the Malabar coast, now consisting of the Travancore and Cochin States, while the northern or Kanara section was the kingdom of Satiyaputra. We can say nothing about the condition of these kingdoms save that they had carried on a flourishing trade, chiefly in spices and pearls, with the ports of the Red Sea for several centuries.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAURYAN EMPIRE,
SUNGA AND KANVA DYNASTIES

B.C. 321—B.C. 27

- B.C. 321 CHANDRAGUPTA becomes king of Magadha, and founds the MAURYAN dynasty.
- B.C. 305 Seleukos Nikator invades India.
- B.C. 302 Megasthenes, the ambassador, at Pataliputra.
- B.C. 297 BINDUSARA accedes to the throne.
- B.C. 272 ASOKA-VARDHANA accedes to the throne.
- B.C. 269 Coronation of Asoka.
- B.C. 261 Conquest of Kalinga by Asoka.
- B.C. 257-256 The Fourteen Rock Edicts and the Kalinga Edicts are published.
- B.C. 249 Asoka goes on pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places.
- B.C. 243-242 The Seven Pillar Edicts are published.
- B.C. 232-231 The Minor Rock Edicts are published; death of Asoka; DASARATHA accedes to the throne.
- B.C. 184 PUSHYAMITRA SUNGA assassinates Brihadratha, usurps the throne, and founds SUNGA dynasty of ten kings.
- B.C. 72 VASUDEVA procures murder of Devabhumi, founds KANVA dynasty of four kings.
- B.C. 27 KANVA dynasty comes to an end: the last king is slain by Andhra king.

N.B. —It must be remembered that many of these dates are conjectural and approximate only.

CHAPTER VII

A Tangled Tale: Andhra, Bactrian, Parthian, Saka, and Kushan Dynasties

B.C. 250-A.D. 200

The great Empire, acquired by Chandragupta and made illustrious by the piety of Aśoka, had declined gradually under the later Mauryan monarchs. At the last, their territory seems to have shrunk to the central region around Pāṭaliputra, and it then passed into the hands of others, first to the kings of the Śunga line, and then to the Kāṇvas.

As the Mauryan Empire had weakened, other kingdoms had sprung up to the south and west of it. In this chapter we shall deal with the history of these. It is a tangled tale, and concerning many matters there is still great doubt.

THE ANDHRAS.—The Āndhra kingdom arose in the south. At the height of its prosperity, it seems to have stretched across the whole breadth of India below the Vindhya range. Its principal seat was the country watered by the Godāvarī. In the *Purāṇas* the names of thirty or thirty-one kings are enumerated, and the dynasty is said to have lasted four and a half centuries. We know that in the time of Megasthenes, in the third century B.C., the realm of the Āndhras was populous and wealthy, and that its ruler maintained a large army. The Āndhra kingdom is mentioned again by Aśoka in his Edicts, and appears to have been one of the feudatory States of his Empire. Then, as the Mauryan power declined, it threw off its allegiance. Probably the Āndhra king was an ally of Khāravela of Kalinga, when he made war on Pushyamitra and invaded his territories. The Āndhra kingdom was divided into an eastern and a west-

ern province. The capital of the eastern portion was Dhānyakataka or Dharaṇikoṭ, on the Kṛishṇā, in the Guntūr district. The heir to the throne ruled the western province from Paithān or Pratiśthāna, on the Godāvāri, in the Aurungābād district. The Āndhra kings are distinguished by the title Śātavāhana or Śātakarṇi.

The only monarchs of this dynasty, who need be mentioned here, are HALA and Gautamīputra VILIVAYAKURA.



COIN OF VILIVAYAKURA

Hāla reigned perhaps in the first century A.D. Tradition represents him as a great patron of vernacular literature. He is said to be the author of the *Ṣapta Śataka*, a poem in the old Marāṭhī language,

and other works in the same vernacular are ascribed to his ministers. Gautamīputra Viṣivāyakura is known from two inscriptions found at Nāsik. In the first century A.D. the Āndhra kingdom must have suffered much from the incursions of the Śakas, who had annexed some parts of the western province. But in the year A.D. 126 Viṣivāyakura seems to have defeated them, slaying Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta, and recovering the dominion of his ancestors. The inscriptions state that he humbled the pride of the Khsatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, exterminated the Kshaharātas, and restored the glory of the Śātavāhanas. The Kshaharātas were probably a Śaka family or tribe, and Nahapāna was a ruler or satrap of the race.

The Āndhra dynasty came to an end about the beginning of the third century A.D.

THE INDO-GREEK KINGS.—During this period the north-west was once more a scene of turmoil. The sluice-gates were lifted again and again, letting the floods of foreign invasion descend upon the plains of India. We

have noticed already in our first chapter that there is a Scythian element in the population of India, which can be traced in the features of the people along the west coast as far south as Coorg. Most of the invading hordes belonged to this Scythian type—most, but not all; for we shall see that there was among them a slight admixture of European blood.

The country of Bactria lies on the south bank of the river Oxus. It had been one of the outlying provinces of

The Yavanas the Persian Empire, and both Alexander the Great and Seleukos Nikator, his successor in the east, had tried to make their frontier secure by found-

ing new cities in Bactria with Greek and Macedonian inhabitants. Thus in this fertile region a considerable degree of Greek civilisation was attained, and there was a pre-



COIN OF EUTHYDEMOS

re-ailing strain of Hellenic blood in the ruling classes. Under the weak and worthless Antiochos, the Seleukid Empire went to pieces, and Bactria took the opportunity to assert its independence about the year B.C. 250. Later on the Bactrian king Euthydemos and his son and successor, Demetrios, crossed the Hindu Kush, and, marching through Kābul and the Panjāb, acquired considerable territory in Afghānistān and India. Demetrios was opposed by a rival Eukratides, by whom he was ultimately defeated and dethroned. Shortly after, owing to the pressure of the Parthians on the one side and the Śakas on the other, the Bactrian kingdom seems to have collapsed, and the Indian territory, which had been under the Bactrian kings, was divided among a number of petty princes. The names of about two score of these are known from the coins, which have been found in the north-west; but there is only one prince of any note among them. He is MENANDER, probably the king Milinda so celebrated

among Buddhists. Menander reigned about B.C. 150. He is said to have over-run the Panjāb and to have carried his armies far east, capturing Mathurā, and perhaps reaching even to Pāṭaliputra itself. His course of victory cannot have been more than a successful raid; for the Greek princes were divided among themselves.



COIN OF MENANDER

An early astrological work records:—"The fiercely fighting Yavanas did not stay in Madhyadeśa. There was a cruel and dreadful war in their own kingdom among themselves."* If Menander be the Milinda of Buddhist tradition, he must have become a convert to Buddhism. It is related that, at his death, he received the honours due to an Emperor, and that cities contended for the privilege of receiving a share of his ashes. Greek rule lingered on, particularly in the east of the Panjāb, till about A.D. 50, when Kadphises, the Kushan king, ousted the last Greek prince, Hermaios, and extinguished Hellenic rule.

THE SCYTHIAN NATIONS.—About the same time as the revolt in Bactria, another rising took place in the Persian Empire. The Parthians occupied the country to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. They were a wild, untutored people—a nation of fierce horsemen, formidable in war. Under Arsakes, the chieftain of one of their clans, they first secured their own independence on the frontier. Then, under the guidance of able monarchs, they subjugated the southern provinces, and gave to Persia a new line of Parthian kings, the Arsakidan Dynasty, so-called from Arsakes, the founder and common ancestor. The Parthians are probably the Pahlavas of Hindu tradition, and seem to have made some conquests in India.

A number of the names on coins found in the north-west appear to be those of Parthian princes; such are those of Maues or Moga, 'Great King of Kings,' Vonones, Azes, and Gondophares. It is not certain whether these kings, who held sway in Kābul, Sistān and the Panjāb, were

* *Gārgī Samhitā*.

really of Parthian blood, or whether they belonged to the Śaka tribes and merely acknowledged the Parthian king as their over-lord and copied his style.

Gondophares, who ruled in Sīstān in the first century A.D., figures in a Christian legend. The Apostle Thomas is said to have come to his country, and, after converting

a great number to Christianity, to have suffered martyrdom there. The Parthian princes were superseded by the Kushan kings about the end of the first century A.D. It



COIN OF MAUES

is not a matter of great importance whether these kings were Pahlavas or Śakas; for both were branches of the same Scythian stock, and there seems to have been a political alliance between the two races.

We know from the Chinese chronicles that about the year B.C. 165 a tribe of nomads on the western frontiers

The Sakas of the Chinese Empire was defeated and compelled to move onwards. These Yueh-chi fell upon the Sse or Śakas in the region between the Jaxartes and the Chu rivers, and expelled them from their lands. The Śakas in their turn went southwards into the Bactrian kingdom (about B.C. 160) and recouped themselves at the expense of the Bactrians. Still yielding to the pressure behind them, the Śakas entered India—perhaps by various paths, some coming into the Panjāb by way of Kashmīr and others through Sīstān into Sindh. Their number must have been great; for they spread over a wide extent of territory.* They have given their name to Sīstān

* An important date of this period is B.C. 58-7, when the Mālava or Vikrama era commences. What event this era celebrates is not certain. It might be the establishment of the Saka power in the western province of the Andhra kingdom; or, in just the opposite sense, the era might commemorate the victory of a Hindu prince over the intruding foreigners. In opposition to both these views Dr.

(Śakasthāna); and inscriptions prove that in the first century B.C., there were Śaka Satraps at Takshaśīla in the



COIN OF
RAJUVULA,
SAKA SATRAP

Panjāb, and at Mathurā on the Jumna; while much latter (in A.D. 126), we find them established in Kāthiawār and Mālhwā. The Satrap Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta, who was overthrown by the Āndhra king was a Śaka prince. Chashtāna seems to have been appointed as a Viceroy, subordinate to the Āndhra king, in the stead of Nahapāna. This revival of the Āndhra power must have been short-lived: for Rudradāman, the grandson of Chashtāna, married his daughter to the Āndhra king, Puṣumāyi. He defeated his son-in-law in battle, and won for himself afresh the title

of *Mahākshatrapa* or Great Satrap. Rudradāman established firmly the authority of the Western Satraps, and his descendants continued to rule in their capital, Ujjain, down to about A.D. 409, when the last Satrap, Rudrasimha, was defeated and slain by the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta Vikramāditya.

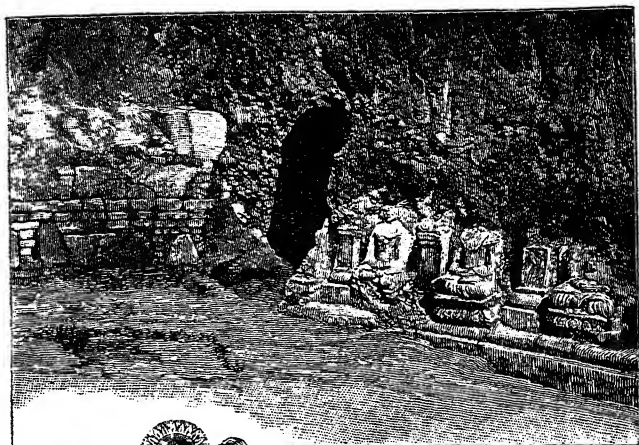
It remains to trace the progress of the third Scythian people. We have said before that the nomad tribe of the Yueh-chi, being defeated on the Chinese frontiers, was compelled to move on westward. They dispossessed the Sse or Śakas of their pastures between the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and followed them into Bactria. Here the Yueh-chi seem to have remained for more than a century. Originally they were divided into five clans, but about the year A.D. 45

The Yueh-chi and Kushan Kings

KOZOULO KADPHISES, belonging to the Kushan section of the Yueh-chi, united all the tribes into one people under one king. Kadphises crossed the Hindu Kush and added Kashmir and Kābul to his territories, superseding Her-

Fleet holds that the year B.C. 58-7 marks the commencement of Kanishka's reign. His theory is that this era afterwards came into vogue among the people of Mālhwā; that the legend of a king Vikramāditya, who overthrew foreign invaders, arose many centuries later out of the fact that the year of the era commenced originally in the *vikramakāla*, or war-season in the autumn; and that the association of the Sakas with the era is due to a confusion between them and the Sākyas or Buddhists, who were the early rivals of the Jains in Western India.

maios, the last Greek ruler in the Kābul district. If the chronology adopted here be correct, the Śaka era, which commences with the year A.D. 78, will commemorate this expansion of the Kushan power.



BASEMENT OF KANISHKA'S
TOWER NEAR PESHAWAR, AND
THE CASKET CONTAINING
BUDDHA'S REMAINS

The possessions of the Kushan kings were enlarged by the successors of Kadphises. The most notable of these was KANISHKA, to whom the date A.D. 120-160 has been assigned, although this must be accepted with hesitation.* Kanishka was a powerful and successful monarch: he waged war with the Emperor of China and received an imperial prince as a hostage upon the conclusion of peace. Kanishka's empire included countries on both sides of the Hindu Kush,

* Many authorities assign to Kanishka's accession the date A.D. 78, which event they believe inaugurated the Saka era. Dr. Fleet, as we have seen, gives the date B.C. 58-7.

the Pāmirs, and the Karakoram range—Bactria, Afghānistān and the Panjāb, Kashmīr and Eastern Tūrkistān. Kanishka was a generous patron of Buddhism, and is almost as celebrated in the Buddhist legends of China and Tibet as Aśoka in those of Burma and Ceylon. A great Council seems to have been held in his reign in Kashmīr to settle the canon of the Buddhist Scriptures, or to prepare commentaries thereon. The sage Aśvaghoṣa, author of *Buddha Charita*, and Nāgārjuna, who wrote *Prajñā Pāramitā*, are said to have adorned by their learning and piety the reign of this Kushan king. Kanishka's capital was Purushapura (Peshāwar). Here he erected a marvellous tower of thirteen storeys, four hundred feet high and surmounted by an iron pole. The legend of the king's death is that, having exhausted the endurance of his soldiers and ministers by his insatiable greed of conquest, he was smothered with a quilt.



COIN OF VASUDEVA

Kanishka was succeeded by Huvishka and Jushka, the former of whom built a great monastery at Mathurā. After them came Vāsudeva, who, from his coinage, appears to have been a worshipper of the god Śiva. Thus these war-like tribesmen were in the end assimilated by the Hindu civilisation. The Kushan power lasted on till the fifth century in the region of Kābul, and the Kushana coinage, whether issued by princes of this line or merely imitated by others, was current all over the north-west down to that time. Then the avalanche of Huns submerged or swept away what was left of Kushan rule.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EPOCH.—During this period there was some intercourse between the peoples of the north-west and European nations. The Bactrian princes brought into India the language and some of the arts of Greece. The inscriptions upon their coins are in Greek, and the effigies, stamped upon them, show the

Greek and
Roman
influence

superior refinement and skill of the Greek artificer. This same influence can be traced also in the architecture and sculptures of the ruins of Buddhist buildings in the Peshāwar district.* Hindu astronomers, of a much later age, acknowledge the pitch of excellence to which the Greeks had brought their science, and borrowed some of their learning from this source. The Sanskrit drama, too, may have been influenced by Greek models. Beyond these scanty traces, there is no evidence that India was affected by contact with Greek civilisation.

A word must be added about the relations with the Roman Empire. It is probable that the Kushan and Śaka princes sent embassies to Rome. In the first and second centuries A.D. the frontiers of the Roman Empire were advanced nearer to India, and the influence of Rome was felt through Persia. Some of the Kushan kings issued gold coins, which are plainly an imitation of those minted by the Roman emperors. The hoards of Roman coins found in the Tamil country show how extensive was the trade carried on by the merchants of the south with provinces of the Roman Empire.

The Parthians, Śakas, and Kushans had adopted the Greek language for their coin inscriptions; but this gradually went out of use, and a Persian or an Indian language was substituted in its place. The Scythians were a comparatively fresh and unformed people. They seem to have been ready to take their colour from their surroundings, and borrowed the worships and beliefs of prevailing religions without prejudice against any. The coins of the Kushan kings show a strange medley of gods—Greek, Persian, and Indian. There is Herakles with his club and Śiva with his trident.

The Buddhism of Kanishka's kingdom belongs to the later *Mahāyāna*, or 'Great Vehicle' type, as distinguished from the older and purer *Hīnāyāna*, or 'Lesser Vehicle' of Burma and Ceylon. Buddha's morality was simple, and he had said little about God and the future world.

* The famous Mārtānda temple of the sun in Kashmīr, erected by King Lalitāditya in the eighth century, likewise shows undoubted traces of Greek influence.

All this, however, has now given way to a more popular religion. Buddha himself has been elevated into a god, to whom prayer and worship can be offered. A host of Buddhist saints, and of Scythian, Persian, and Hindu gods have become saviours and deities in a system of heavens. Shrines are raised for the preservation of sacred relics, to which miraculous powers are ascribed. The temples are filled with images, and gorgeous processions are organised to delight the crowds. Such was the change that the religion of Buddha underwent in its northern home.

It is clear that the Śakas or Scythians were regarded as unwelcome intruders and barbarians by the Hindu princes and people. The inscription of **The Absorption of the Foreigners** Balaśrī, the Āndhra queen, magnifies her as the mother of Viṣivāyakura, the king who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, "and prevented the mixing of the four castes." For some centuries the religions of Buddhism and Jainism found many adherents and flourished in the regions of the west and north-west, where the new foreign elements were strong. But in the long run the accommodating Hindu civilisation wins. The Kushan king, Vāsudeva, exhibits the symbol of Śiva with the sacred bull, Nandi, on his coins, and the Western Satraps, in course of time, become orthodox Hindus, uniting their race with the Āndhras.

Meanwhile, other more intellectual movements were taking place; for we must assign to this period the origin or development of several philosophical schools. The tenets of the *Sāṅkhya* school can be traced back as far as the age of Buddha, but perhaps they were not formed into a definite system till about B.C. 300.* The leading ideas of

* The reputed founder of the *Sāṅkhya* school is Kapila. According to Buddhist tradition he was prior to Buddha. It is certain that some of the *Sāṅkhya* ideas were adopted by Jains and Buddhists alike. They belong to that intellectual revolt against the Brāhman and the *Vedas* and the doctrine of sacrifice, which went before the rise of the Jain and Buddhist religions. The view adopted here, however, is that the *Sāṅkhya* school with an elaborated philosophic system did not come into existence till two or three centuries later. Its earliest extant text-books belong to the Christian era, and the well-known *Sāṅkhya Sūtras* are as late as the fourteenth century.

the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy are that there are two eternal orders of being--Matter (*prakṛiti*) and the Soul (*puruṣa*), of which latter an infinite number exist. The material world, including mind and the organs of sense, is evolved by a process of mixture and combination in Matter, which contains the three ingredients (*guṇas*) of darkness, activity, and purity. Consciousness arises from the contact of Matter through the sense organs with the Soul; and salvation, or release from Matter, is attained by a clear knowledge of the distinction between Soul and Matter. The *Yoga* system is a modification of the *Sāṅkhya*, from which it differs only in teaching the existence of a personal God and in prescribing certain postures and ascetic exercises, which are said to help the Soul to realise the truth about itself and Matter. The *Yoga Sūtras* of Patanjali were compiled probably about B.C. 150. More orthodox Brāhman thought is represented by the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, and the *Uttaramīmāṃsā* schools, which arose about the beginning of the Christian era. The one teaches the eternity of the *Veda*, and dwells upon the meaning and value of the Way of Works, especially of sacrificial acts; and the other, as set forth in the *Brahma Sūtras* ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa, makes the doctrine of the Upanishads into a more systematic and consistent body of thought, of which the leading tenet is that All that truly *is* is One and the Soul is that All. This is the Way of Knowledge.

The history of this troubled time may be summed up in a few sentences. The Yavanas are driven down into India by Pahlava and Śaka combined. The Śakas are pushed on by the Yueh-chi, who follow later under their Kushan kings. Thus people after people marches through the passes to be merged ultimately in the teeming population below; or, perchance, a new and separate niche is made in the caste system for the invader who has come to stay.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDHRA, BACTRIAN, PARTHIAN, SAKA. AND KUSHAN DYNASTIES

B.C. 250=A.D. 200

B.C. 250		Bactria and Parthia revolt.
B.C. 220	ANDHRA Dynasty commences.	
B.C. 175		Eukratides dethrones Euthydemus; DEMETRIOS, son of latter, rules in India.
B.C. 165		Yueh-chi, being defeated, move on and oust Sakas from their territory.
B.C. 160 to B.C. 140		Sakas invade Bactria, crushing the Greek kingdom, and afterwards migrate into India.
B.C. 150		The Greek king, MENANDER, flourishes.
B.C. 100 to A.D. 50		Parthian kings Maues, Vonones, Azes reign. Gondophares (acc. A.D. 21) rules in Sīstān. Saka satraps govern districts in Panjāb and elsewhere.
B.C. 58-57	The MALAVA or VIKRAMA era commences.	
B.C. 27	The Andhra King slays the last Kānva.	
A.D. 45 to A.D. 85		KADPHISES unites the five tribes of the Yueh-chi and extends the Kushan Empire.
A.D. 50		Hermaios, last Greek prince in Kābul, superseded.
A.D. 78		The SAKA or SALIVAHANA era commences.
A.D. 126	The Andhra Vīlīvāyaka defeats Nahapāna.	
A.D. 120-150		KANISHKA is Lord Paramount in the north-west.
A.D. 150	RUDRADAMAN defeats the Andhra Pulumāyi and takes title of Great Satrap.	
A.D. 185		Vāsudeva ascends the throne; decline of Kushan power.
A.D. 230	Andhra Dynasty comes to an end.	

N.B.—Many of these dates are conjectural and approximate only.

CHAPTER VIII

The Gupta Empire, the Huns, and King Harsha

A.D. 300-700

The third century after Christ is an obscure period in Indian history. When the darkness lifts and we are again permitted to catch a glimpse of what is taking place, we find that the ancient kingdom of Magadha is about to expand once more into a great Empire. Early in the fourth century A.D. a Rāja, named Chandragupta, had obtained in marriage the hand of Kumāradevī, a Lichchhavi princess. The two appear side by side on their coins. Strengthened by this alliance, Chandragupta was able to extend his dominion and make himself a ruler of note among the surrounding princes. He founded a new dynasty, and started a new era, the Gupta, commencing about the year A.D. 320.



COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA AND
KUMARADEVI

About A.D. 326 Chandragupta was succeeded by his son, Samudragupta. We are indebted for most of our knowledge of Samudragupta to the Kausāmbī pillar, which now stands in the fort at Allahābād.* It is probable that it was erected originally at Kausāmbī on the Jumna. Beside a short Aśokan inscription, it bears a lengthy panegyric of the monarch Samudragupta, composed by the poet Harishena. When all allowance has been made for the extravagances of a court bard, it remains probable that Samudragupta was a king of many accomplishments and great achievements. This column, 'raised up like an arm of the Earth', proclaims the praises of the hero of a hundred fights,

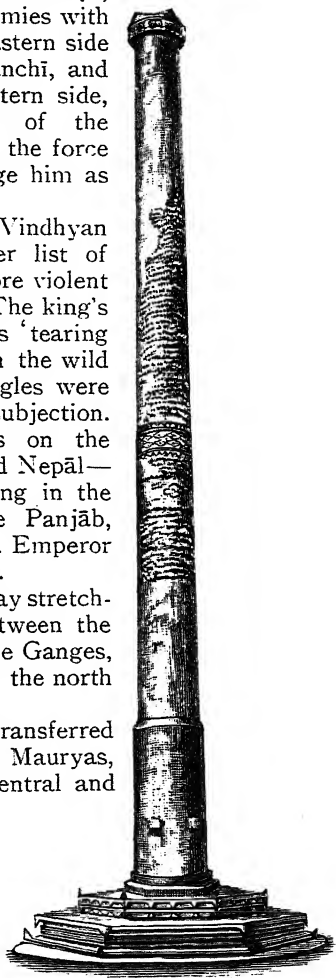
* This is the pillar shown on page 69.

Kubera of Devarāshṭra (the present Marāthā country). Thus, if we are to believe Harishēṇa, Samudragupta marched his armies with unbroken success down the eastern side of India as far south as Kānchī, and then crossing over to the western side, he compelled the princes of the Marāthā country to yield to the force of his arms and to acknowledge him as their Lord Paramount.

For India, north of the Vindhyan range, the Āryāvarta, another list of princes is given, to whom more violent treatment was meted out. The king's majesty was enhanced by his 'tearing them up by force', and even the wild peoples of the Vindhyan jungles were hunted out and tamed into subjection. The Rājas of the countries on the frontiers—Bengal, Assam and Nepāl—and the feudal clans, dwelling in the fastnesses of Mālwā and the Panjāb, made obeisance to the Gupta Emperor and brought him their tribute.

Thus Samudragupta's sway stretched over all the countries between the Jumna and the mouths of the Ganges, and from the Himālayas on the north to the Narmadā in the south.

The capital was probably transferred from the ancient city of the Mauryas, Pāṭaliputra, to the more central and convenient Ayodhyā. Samudragupta, like all the princes of his line, was a generous patron of the Brāhmins. The revival of Brāhmanism, which is a feature of this age, was aided greatly by the Gupta dynasty. After completing his tour of



THE KAUSAMBI PILLAR AT
ALLAHABAD

conquest and consolidating his victories, the king celebrated the *Aśvamedha*.

Mighty in war, he excelled also in peaceful accomplishments. He seems to have contributed not a little to that renaissance of Sanskrit letters, which went hand in hand with the rise of the Brāhmans into predominance. Harishena declares that the Emperor had put to shame Nārada and the preceptor of Indra by his polished intellect and skill in minstrelsy, and had established his claim to the title of 'King of Poets' by his many notable compositions. On some of his coins Samudragupta is represented seated and playing a musical instrument.

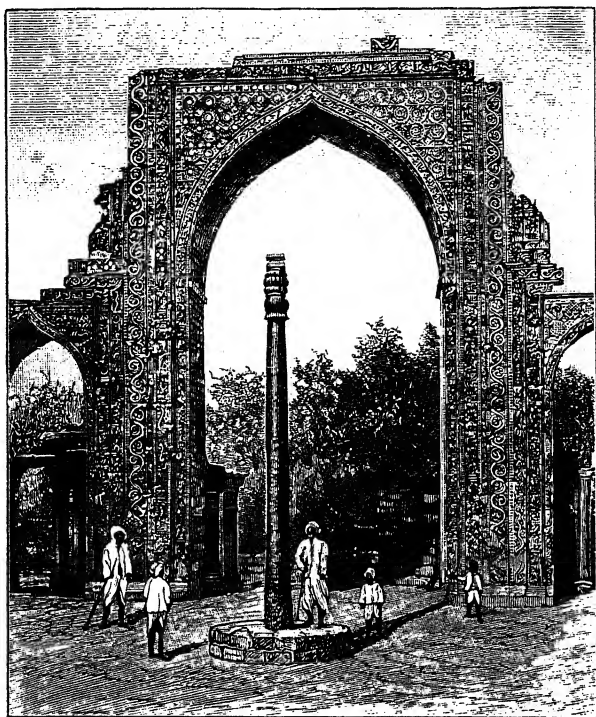
The successor of Samudragupta was Chandragupta Vikramāditya. The title he assumed shows that there was no decay of the Gupta empire in his reign. It has been suggested that this king **Chandragupta Vikramāditya** : is none other than the famous Vikramāditya **A.D. 375-413** of Hindu legend, at whose court shone the 'Nine Gems' of Literature and Science.

Chandragupta Vikramāditya brought to an end the power of the Western Satraps, and slew Rudrasimha, the last of them, about the year A.D. 409. The territories of Sindh, Kāthiāwār, Mālwā, and the Konkan were thus annexed to his empire; and Ujjain, once the capital of the Satraps, may have enjoyed its greatest prosperity and fame when it was the residence of the Gupta conqueror.

Fa-hien, the Chinese Buddhist monk, visited India during this reign (A.D. 405-411). His object was to obtain copies of Buddhist scriptures and to gather up legends of Buddhism in the land of its birth. He was a student for three years in the monastery at Pāṭaliputra, and spent another two years at Tāmralipti—the port in the delta of the Ganges. He travelled through India, from Sindh in the west to Bengal in the east. Pāṭaliputra in his day must have lost some of its former importance and wealth, but it still contained the palace of Aśoka and some magnificent monasteries. Fa-hien has described the pomp of the annual Buddhist procession in the city.

The Mālwā country, where both the Jain and the Buddhist religions were influential, gave him especial delight. He notes the absence of distilleries and butchers'

shops, and says that the people dwelt in peace and comfort, not troubled over-much by their Government. "They have not to register their households, nor to attend to any magistrates and rules." Yet the decay of Buddhism had set in already, and the existence of many flourishing monas-



IRON PILLAR NEAR DELHI, ENGRAVED WITH AN INSCRIPTION
IN PRAISE OF CHANDRAGUPTA VIKRAMADITYA

teries was no proof that Buddhism had any hold on the masses of the people, or that Brāhman influence was weak.

Kumāragupta (A.D. 413-455) succeeded to Chandragupta Vikramāditya. We know little of him save his

name. His son and successor was SKANDAGUPTA (A.D. +55-+80), in whose reign the deluge, that had been threatening in the north, burst upon the Gupta empire. In that quarter the hordes of the White Huns had gathered, and had over-run the Panjāb. They were akin to those other Huns, who ravaged the east of Europe and spread their terror far and wide by the savagery of their manners and the uncouthness of their appearance. They were a race of the Mongolian type with high cheek-bones, sunken eyes, and snub noses.

**The
Last Gupta
Kings**

Skandagupta seems to have repelled their first assault about A.D. +65; but a few years later the struggle was



A HUN

renewed and the Gupta empire, impoverished and weakened by former efforts, succumbed to its foes. It seems to have split up into a number of small kingdoms under princes who claimed some relationship to the dynasty. Gupta rule was continued in the northern territory by Pura-

gupta and Narasimhagupta. This latter has been identified with the Bālāditya, who—according to Hiuen Tsang—overthrew the Huns in a great and decisive battle at Kahrōr about A.D. 530. Later there was a line of Guptas reigning in East Magadha. The last of these, known from inscriptions, is Jivitagupta, who lived about the year A.D. 750. In Mālwa, Buddhagupta and Bhānugupta carried on the succession for a few years. • •

Meanwhile a new dynasty sprang up farther west, where about A.D. 500 a chieftain, named Bhaṭārka, had founded the kingdom of Valabhī in Kāthiāwār. Originally a fief of the Guptas or the Huns, it threw off its allegiance

and flourished as an independent State down to the time when it was overwhelmed by the Arab invasion about A.D. 770. The capital city was a place of great wealth and commercial prosperity, and was visited by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese scholar. Some of its kings were Jains or Buddhists, and were generous supporters of the religions they professed.

The Huns, whose invasion resulted in the break-up of the Gupta Empire, enjoyed only a brief spell of power.

The Huns Under the leadership of TORAMANA, who was probably a feudatory of the great White Hun king holding his court at Herāt, they subjugated the north-west, making Sākala in the Panjāb their capital; and they had established themselves in Mālwa before A.D. 500. Toramāṇa was succeeded by MIHIRAGULA. One of the most obscure incidents in Indian history is the defeat which broke the power of the Huns in western India. Inscriptions, found at Mandasor, give the glory of this achievement to YASODHARMAN. Who this Yaśodharman was, whence he sprang, and what became of him is uncertain. He is described as one who 'delivered the earth, when it was oppressed by the kings of the present age.' 'Spurning the boundaries of his own house,' he carved out for himself an empire, surpassing even that of the Gupta lords. 'The head of the fierce Mihiragula knew the pain of making a forced obeisance' to his conqueror, the glorious Yaśodharman.

Some historians believe that Yaśodharman was a Mālwa prince, who accomplished a national deliverance, and by his prowess succeeded to the place and the power of the Guptas. They assert that from this time the Mālwa Era took the new name of the Vikrama Era, and that Yaśodharman, reigning at Ujjain, is the Vikramāditya of the legends.



COIN OF MIHIRAGULA

Others incline to the opinion that Yaśodharman was only a vassal and ally of the Gupta king, Narasimhagupta or

Bālāditya, and that a servile poet has given him all the credit of a victory, which rightfully he should share with his lord. The evidence is very scanty, and we must rest content with mentioning these rival views.

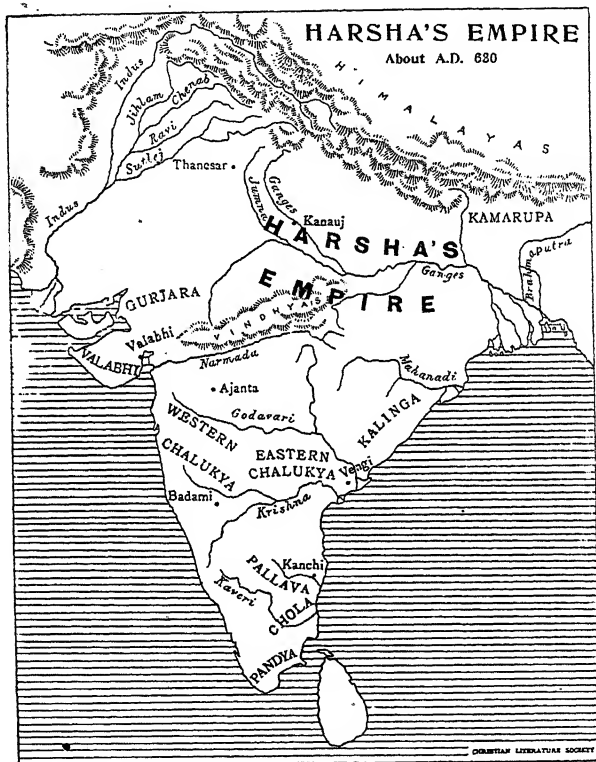
The defeated Mihiragula took refuge in Kashmīr where he repaid the hospitality of the king by ousting him from his throne. He then added the north of the Panjāb to his Kashmīr territory and ruled for some years. Kalhaṇa—the Kashmīr historian—tells how the savage Hun experienced the keenest pleasure one day, when he heard an elephant scream in terror as it fell over a precipice. Mihiragula was a bitter and cruel persecutor of the Buddhist monks, and their traditions say that his death was accompanied by the most fearful portents of wrath in the heavens.

Hūṇa princes and peoples are mentioned centuries later in Indian inscriptions and books. Among the thirty-six royal clans of Rājputāna the Hūṇas form one. Thus, though the political power of the Huns was soon dissipated, there are some indications that they continued to survive in small principalities and communities, and added a new element to the population of India.

After the dispersion of the Huns there is a gap of a century in our knowledge. Then—thanks to the memoirs of the great Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, and Bāṇa's romance—we are enabled to take up again the thread of history. Bāṇa in his

King Harsha:
A.D. 606-647 *Harsha Charita* tells the story of King Harsha of Kanauj. The Rāja Prabhākara Vardhana of Thāṇeśar was a gallant and successful ruler. He had sent his elder son, Rājya Vardhana, on a campaign against the Huns, when he was seized with mortal sickness and died. Rājya Vardhana was acclaimed king, and the distressful news was brought to him that his sister's husband, Grahavarman, the Maukhari king of Kanauj, had been slain in battle by the king of Mālwa, aided by Śasānka of Western Bengal. Rājya Vardhana had no difficulty in defeating the enemy in open field, but after the battle he fell a victim to the treachery of the king of Bengal. His younger brother, Harsha Vardhana, was now called to the throne, and lost no time in taking vengeance on his enemies and rescuing

his hapless sister, Rājyaśrī. The sister became a Buddhist nun, while the brother devoted himself to warfare and made himself the most powerful monarch of his House. He seems to have fixed his capital at Kanauj. Gathering together a large and well-equipped army, he marched



through the Āryāvarta compelling the Rājas of the Ganges valley to acknowledge his suzerainty. Inscriptions record his subjugation of the kingdom of Valabhi between A.D. 633 and 640, and in the east and north Assam and Nepāl submitted to his commands.

In his southern campaign he suffered a reverse at the hands of the powerful Chālukyan monarch, Pulakeśin II, and was compelled to retire from his territory. Like Samudragupta, Harsha is credited with being an author of considerable merit. The well-known drama *Ratnāvalī* is ascribed to him.

Harsha was a liberal patron of several religions, but in later years he showed a decided preference for Buddhism in its *Mahāyāna* form. He came under the influence of Hiuen Tsang's *Memoirs*, the Chinese scholar, who set forth on his travels about the year A.D. 629, and left India in A.D. 644, only a year or two before the king's death. He completely won the favour of the king by his discourses, and it was made perilous for any to oppose him in argument. He has left us an account of the great Buddhist festival at Kanauj in A.D. 644, to which Harsha summoned all the feudatory Rājas of the Empire, among whom were Druvasena of Valabhī and Kumāra of Assam. Each day a golden image of Buddha was carried in procession, escorted by king Harsha, in the guise of an attendant god, and a score of princes. The festival at Kanauj was followed by another great ceremony at Prayāga, where the king distributed all his wealth to the religious and the poor. On the first day an image of Buddha was set up, on the second day one of the Sun, and on the third day one of Śiva. In the distribution of gifts the Buddhist monks took precedence. After them a vast number of Brāhmans were honoured, then came the Jains and other sectarians, and lastly the wants of the poor and destitute were remembered. After thus exhausting his wealth, the king paid worship to the Buddhas, and commenced to fill his treasury again with the offerings of the feudatory princes and his loyal subjects.

The death of Harsha (A.D. 648) was followed immediately by the collapse of his empire. A usurper, Arjuna, who had molested a Chinese embassy, was utterly defeated by a Chinese force, assisted by the kings of Nepāl and Tibet, and was sent as a prisoner to the Chinese Emperor.

The history of those Chālukya and Pallava dynasties in the Deccan, and of the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms

of the south, which were contemporary with the Guptas and Harsha, will be noticed in the next chapter.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EPOCH.—We have seen already that one of the chief features of this age is the revival of Brāhmanism, with a corresponding decline in the influence of the Buddhist and Jain religions. There are to the end of the period numerous and wealthy monasteries, inhabited by thousands of monks, although the memoirs of Hiuen Tsang show that in some parts the monasteries were deserted and had fallen into ruin. Even in the time of Fa-hien the regions round Bodh Gayā and the sacred places in the Tarai had become jungle, sparsely populated. There were, however, times and places—as at the court of Kanauj in the reign of King Harsha—in which Buddhism enjoyed the royal favour, and had the prestige of being the State religion. But, none the less, Buddhism was on the wane. The system of Caste, supported by the Brāhmans, gave them influence and power with the people. The first demand of Caste was that the Brāhman should be recognised as the head of society. The Brāhmans had commenced too the work of affiliating all the popular worships with the Vedic religion. Sometimes the local gods and goddesses were represented as incarnations or manifestations of the gods of the *Vedas*. The mountain-god Śiva of the north, and Kṛishṇa, the favourite deity of the peoples in the valley of the Jumna and Ganges, were the most prominent of such sectarian and popular gods. This process of amalgamation was to go on for many centuries, and is going on still. It has resulted in the complex system, which is called Hinduism, to distinguish it from Brāhmanism, the exclusive cult of the priestly class, and from the earlier and purer religion of the *Vedas*.

Buddhism, on the other hand, had lost much of its primitive force and purity. The Memoirs of Fa-hien and

**Causes of the
Decline of
Buddhism**

Hiuen Tsang show how it had deteriorated into a worship of relics and abounded in childish superstitions. Their pages are full of the mention of places, where the Buddha had pared his nails, or washed his robe, or left the imprint of his feet. More and more Buddhism had become a

monkish guild, endowed by rich merchants and patronised by powerful princes. Its heavens and its deities were the dreams and inventions of recluses, that did not attract or appeal to the common people who had their own gods. Magnificent processions alone could not create or retain influence. The Buddhists were growing aloof from the people. The wealthy and respectable might belong to the Order, but it had no active and wide compassion for the ignorant and poor. Fa-hien tells us that even in the land of Mālwā, which pleased him so greatly, the out-castes did not keep the law of Buddha; and when they entered the city, they had to beat a piece of wood before them in order to warn the respectable inhabitants of their approach.

The question has been debated as to how far the extinction of Buddhism was due to violence and active persecution. There are legends, preserved both in the north and in the south of India, which show that savage treatment was meted out at times to the Order. We have noticed already that Mihiragula, the worshipper of Śiva, earned for himself a reputation as an oppressor of the Buddhists. He is said to have destroyed numberless monasteries and to have put their monks to death. Tradition also affirms that Śaśānka, the king of Western Bengal, uprooted the sacred Bo-tree and laid waste the adjoining sanctuaries and monasteries. Harsha's great festival at Kanauj was interrupted by two untoward incidents. The lofty tower built for the image of Buddha caught fire, and an attempt was made by an assassin on the king's life. In the investigation which followed, five hundred Brāhmanas were convicted of being accomplices and were sentenced to banishment.

Incidents, such as these, prove that there were now and again outbreaks of the bitterest hostility among the sects, with a resort to violence. The main cause, however, of the decay of Buddhism lay deeper: it was in itself. In comparison with Brāhmanism it could not show pronounced moral superiority, and it was not able to accommodate itself so easily to current beliefs and popular worship.

As was natural, there was in this epoch a great development of Sanskrit literature; for Sanskrit was the

language which had been elaborated and perfected in the priestly schools. It now supersedes the literary *Prākṛits*, even among the Buddhists and Jains, who had once used these more popular dialects. The religion of the Hindu sects, or the worship of the popular deities, is inculcated in the *Purāṇas*. It is probable that two or three of the oldest were composed within this period. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, which is regarded as the earliest of all, has been assigned to the fourth century A.D.

**Revival of
Sanskrit
Literature**

Though the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* is probably earlier than this age, having been compiled about A.D. 200, scholars believe that the *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra* belongs to the beginning of this era. It was written seemingly by a Brāhman of Mithilā in Videha.

The most abundant and characteristic literature of this age, however, does not belong to the field of religion, philosophy, or law. This is the period when the so-called classical Sanskrit reached its perfection, and it has often been likened to the Augustan age in Latin literature. The classical Sanskrit is distinguished by its long compounds, by its wealth of imagery, and by its astonishing ingenuity in the use of words and the management of metres. Its commonest themes, both in verse and in prose, are the praises of love or the fortunes of princely heroes and heroines. Some of the early Gupta inscriptions are compositions of considerable length and poetic merit. They show that the art of poetry had been highly cultivated before the beginning of the period under review.

The greatest of all the authors of the time is Kālidāsa. He is foremost alike in epic composition, in the drama, and in lyrical poetry: His *Raghuvamśa*, *Śakuntalā*, and *Meghadūta* are examples of his supremacy in all these branches of the poet's art. Kālidāsa is numbered among the 'Nine Gems' of Vikramāditya's court, and he lived probably at the beginning of the fifth century, so that he was a contemporary of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. To the same century, or the following, we may assign Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*, and Daṇḍin, who wrote in prose the *Daśakumāra Charita*, which relates stories of adventure and somewhat disreput-

able intrigue. We know that Āryabhaṭa, the astronomer and mathematician, and Varāhamihira, the author of the *Bṛihat Samhitā* and the astrological *Horāśāstra*, lived and wrote in the sixth century. Then to the seventh century, the time of Harsha, belong Bāṇa who wrote the *Harsha Charita* and *Kādambari*, mingled history and romance, and Bhartṛihari, who—says the Chinese pilgrim—seven times oscillated between the world and the Buddhist cloister. His three Centuries, or *Śatakas*, on Love (*Śringāra*), Duty (*Nīti*), and Renunciation (*Vairāgya*), show both his attachment to the secular and his drawings towards the religious life. Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, was perhaps a senior contemporary of Bāṇa.

Bhartṛihari was a grammarian, as well as a poet and a philosopher, and he wrote a commentary, the *Vākyapaḍīya*, on Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. Another important grammatical work was the *Kāśikāvṛitti*, a commentary on the standard work of Pāṇini by two Benares pandits, Jayāditya and Vāmana; and we must not forget that the metrical lexicon of Sanskrit words—the *Amarakośa*, so well known to many Indian children—is said to have been composed about the year A.D. 500.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE, THE HUNS, AND KING HARSHA

A.D. 300-700

310	CHANDRAGUPTA marries the Lichchhavi princess, Kumāradēvī.	300-400 The <i>Āyur Purana</i> and <i>Yajñavalkya Sastra</i> compiled.
320	The Gupta Era commences.	
326	SAMUDRAGUPTA succeeds to the throne; he makes a tour of conquest.	
375	CHANDRAGUPTA VIKRAMADITYA succeeds to the throne.	
409	He slays Rudrasimha, the last of the Western Satraps.	
405-411	Fa-hien, the Chinese monk, visits India.	400-450 Kālidāsa flourishes.
413	KUMARAGUPTA succeeds to the throne.	
455	SKANDAGUPTA succeeds to the throne.	450-550 Bhāravi and Dandin flourish.
465	He repels the first invasion of the Huns.	
475	The Huns return and the Gupta Empire is shattered to pieces.	
490-510	TORAMANA, the Hun, rules in Western India.	500-600 Aryabhata and Varāhamihira write on Science, Mathematics, and Astronomy.
500	BHATARKA founds the kingdom of Valabhī.	
530	MIHIRAGUḤA is defeated by Baladitya and Yasodharman. He retires to Kashmir.	
606	HARSHAVARDHANA succeeds to the throne of Thanesar; becomes Suzerain of the north.	600-650 Subandhu, BANA, and Bhartrihari flourish.
620	He is repulsed by Pulakesin.	
629	Hiuen Tsang sets out from China.	
644	Great ceremonies at Kanauj and Prayaga: Hiuen Tsang sets out on his return journey.	
648	Death of Harsha.	650 The <i>Kasika Vritti</i> composed.
750	Jivitagupta is ruling in East Magadha.	
770	The Valabhī kingdom is overthrown by the Arabs.	

N.B.—Some of these dates are conjectural and approximate only.

CHAPTER IX

The Hindu Kingdoms down to the Muhammadan Conquest

A.D. 650-1300

We have come now to the last phase of what is known as the Hindu Period in the political history of India. After the break-up of the empire of Kanauj there was for some centuries a constant rivalry and conflict between adjacent kingdoms in northern, central, and southern India. In this chapter we shall give a brief account of the origin and history of these States, of which many were brought to an end in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Muhammadan conquest and were made provinces of the Delhi Empire.

THE ARABS IN SINDH.—We have to notice, however, that long before the advent of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, who made his first expedition into the Panjāb in A.D. 1001, the Muhammadans had won a footing in Sindh. The Arabs, as early as the reign of the Khalīf Umar, the second successor of Muhammad, commenced to make forays into this region. They came by way of the sea or through the regions bordering on the Persian Gulf; for the northern country around Kābul and the Panjāb retained their independence down to the time of Mahmūd, though invaded more than once by the armies of Muslim governors. The Turkī Shāhī kings of Kābul were probably the last remnants of the Kushāna dynasties; and they reigned till about the year A.D. 900, when a Brāhman, Lalliya set up a new ruling House with its capital at Ohind. This Hindu Shāhī dynasty lasted till A.D. 1021, when it was brought to an end by the Muhammadans. •

In Sindh, however, our story must commence with the eighth century; for in the year A.D. 712 Muhammad Kāsim was despatched by his cousin, Hajjāj, the Governor of the province of Babylonia, to effect the conquest of the

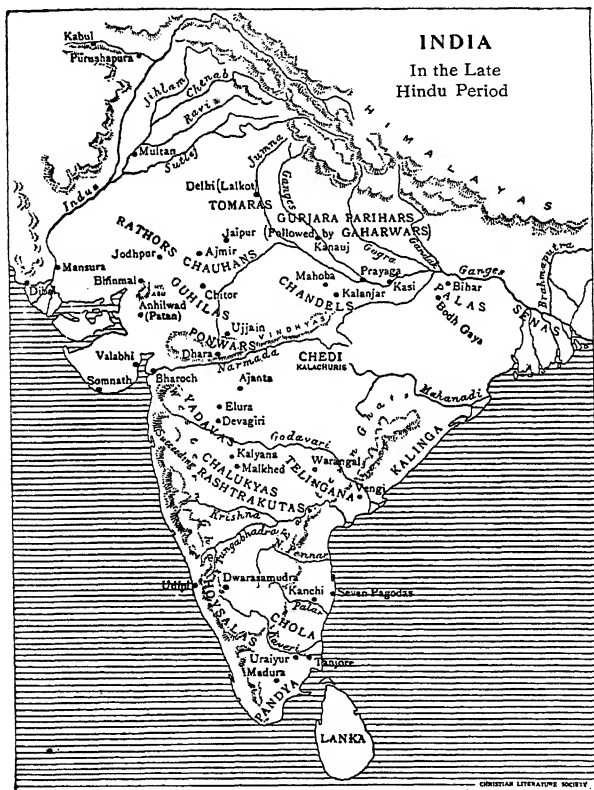
country. The first operation of importance was directed against the port of Dībal, west of the delta of the Indus and occupying probably the site of the modern **The Invasion of Kasim** Karāchi. Here Muhammad Kāsim's army, which had marched overland, was joined by the Arab fleet, conveying reinforcements and some powerful engines for the siege. With one of the great catapults the flag-staff, planted upon the summit of the chief temple of the place, was broken to pieces, and the Hindu garrison, regarding this as an ill omen, lost courage. The Arabs scaled the walls, and sacked the town. The Brāhmans were slain, the temples were razed to the ground, and a Muhammadan quarter was laid out for a garrison of four thousand men. Then marching up the right bank of the Indus, Muhammad Kāsim encountered the army of Dāhir, the most powerful prince in Sindh. He was the son of Chach, a Brāhman, who seems to have set aside the Shāhī, that is the Scythian or Hun dynasty of Sindh. Dāhir's army was routed and himself, mounted on a white elephant, was driven into the river, where he was slain. Alor, the capital, and Mūltān were taken after arduous sieges, and the conquest of Sindh was complete. Kāsim is said to have been engaged on plans for the invasion of the north-west when orders were received from the Khalif to put him to a cruel death.

The Arab soldiers remained in Sindh, where they formed military colonies, took wives of the country, and settled down in permanent occupancy. When the power of the Khalif of Baghdād and of the provincial governors declined, the local rulers in Sindh became independent. From about the year A.D. 879 there were Sultāns reigning at Mansūra and Mūltān. It is plain that their power was limited, and that their insecurity compelled them to practice more toleration than was usual with the early Muhammadan invaders. There was a famous shrine at Mūltān, containing an idol worshipped by the people of the countryside. The Sultān, when in danger from the surrounding Hindu princes, was accustomed to threaten that he would destroy the image, if any hostile advance were made nearer to his city. The threat was always sufficient.

Other Muhammadan military expeditions were undertaken in Gujarāt and Sindh, and in one of these the kingdom of Valabhī seems to have been overwhelmed about A.D. 770. The Arab sailors and merchants, however, penetrated much farther than the Muslim armies. They were familiar with all the coast-line down to Ceylon, and in many of the sea-ports and inland cities they were held in high repute, being allowed to build their mosques and worship in their own way without molestation.

THE RAJPUTS AND KINGDOMS OF THE NORTH.—A feature of this period is the rise and activity of the Rājput kingdoms. We must pause to describe in a few sentences their peculiar political institutions. The Rājput nations were based upon the idea of descent from a common ancestor. The Rāja or king was only the first among his peers; the poorest Rājput in his realm might claim to be his blood relative. The Rājput organisation has been often compared to the feudal system of the Middle Ages in Europe, in which, however, the idea of blood relationship was lacking. The Rājput cavalier, like the feudal knight, held his lands from his liege lord on condition of performing military service, whenever called upon to do so. The chiefs were most sensitive about their personal honour; they were quick to resent an insult to their dignity and intrepid in revenging it. Their women often set an example of lofty courage, and more than once prepared the awful rite of *Jauhar*, perishing in the flames kindled by their own hands rather than fall into the power of the victor. The country, which the Rājputs occupied, fortified by nature with inaccessible mountain peaks and intersected by deep and narrow valleys or isolated by deserts of sand, favoured their warlike habits and enabled them to maintain their independence, when the richer and larger kingdoms of the plains had succumbed to the invader. But the genius of the Rājputs was better suited to maintain the independence of a chieftain's clan than to found and govern an empire. They were lacking in political foresight and capacity for settled administration. They were unable to form a stable combination among their Houses, or to submit to one central rule, chosen and appointed by

themselves. Hence their family feuds and frequent tribal wars made it impossible for them to offer an effectual resistance to the Muhammadan armies; though, when the storm had spent itself, there was one House at least which had not been broken by the blast.



The Rājputs were ardent Hindus and paid reverence to the Brāhmins, though the chieftains really constituted the first order in the State. The bards, who recorded Rājput history and genealogies and composed songs in praise of the princes, were an influential class in Rājasthān. It is

not clear whence the Rājput clans are sprung. Some of them may be descended from the Aryan tribes and may represent the ancient Kshatriya class, while others are more probably of Scythian, Hun or Dravidian origin, though they soon adopted the Brāhman civilisation.

Among the most powerful and wide-spread of these tribes were the Gurjaras. They seem to have come into

**The Gurjaras,
Gaharwars,
and Rathors**

India in the times of the Śaka or Hun invasions, and to have occupied territory both in the north and in the south. They have left traces of their power in the Panjāb; while one whole district—Gujarāt, that is Gurjar-rāṭra—is called after them to this day. Their capitals in the south-west were Bhīnmāl and Bharoch; and in later times, about A.D. 941, the Chāpotkaṭa or Chāvaḍā family, reigning at Anhilvād (the modern Pātan), was set aside by one Mūlarāja, who founded the Solanki or Chaulukya* dynasty. This Solanki House is said to be one branch of the Gurjara stock. Anhilvād was an important centre of western trade, and continued to flourish down to the end of the thirteenth century, when it was sacked and utterly destroyed by Alā-ud-dīn.

Recent research seems to show that the Gurjaras played an even more important part in the north. Some scholars affirm that there was a powerful Gurjara king, Vatsarāja, reigning at Ujjain in Mālwā about A.D. 783, and that his grandson Bhoja crossed the Ganges and made Kanauj his capital about A.D. 840, where he became Lord-Paramount of the north. Then, as the various Rājput dynasties in the west and south—the Paramāras in Mālwā, the Chauhāns in Ajmir, and the Chandellas in Bundelkhand—rose into prominence, the kingdom of Kanauj declined in power; and finally the reigning family was dispossessed by a chieftain of the Gaharwār clan. The Gaharwār line continued to rule at Kanauj down to A.D. 1194, when the last of them, Jayachchandra, was defeated and slain by the Muhammadans under Muham-

* Chaulukya is derived from *chuluka*—the hand hollowed for the reception of water. The progenitor of the Chaulukyan race is said to have been created from the hand of Brahma, when he was engaged in devotional exercises in order to restore sacrifice in the world.

mad Ghorī. Some of the Gaharwārs are said to have migrated to the sandy regions in the west, where they founded the Jodhpur State, and became better known by the name of Rāthors.

The fort at Delhi, Lālkoṭ, was built about the year A.D. 1040, by a chieftain, Ānangapāla, who seems to have come from the direction of Kanauj and may have belonged to the dispossessed Gurjara family. His descendants were known as

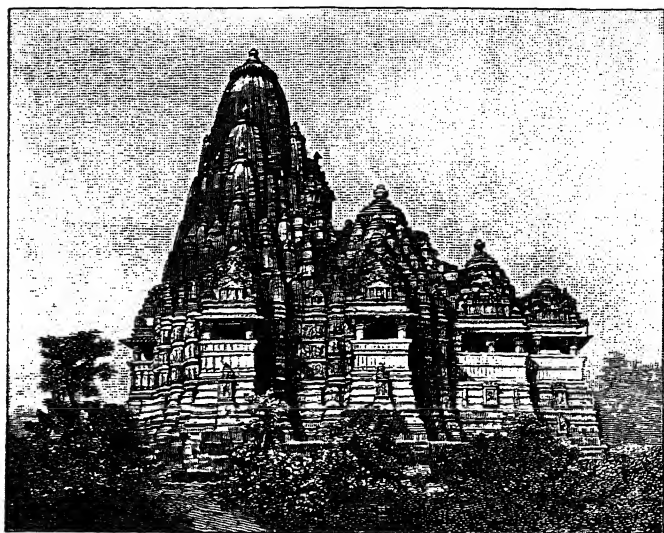
**Tomaras,
Chauhans, and
Chandellas**

Tomaras, and reigned at Delhi for more than a century. Then about A.D. 1170, through the failure of male issue to the Delhi prince, his kingdom was merged in that of Ajmīr. Ānangapāla, the last Tomara Rāja of Delhi, had married his daughter to the son of the Chauhān Rāja of Ajmīr. The fruit of this marriage was the celebrated Prithivirāja, in whom the union of the two houses and two kingdoms was effected. Prithivirāja is the hero of the popular epic, the *Prithvirāj Rāisā*, and among his chief exploits was his romantic elopement with the daughter of Jayachandra of Kanauj. Though the father was opposed to the match, the maiden was well content to go with her gallant lover. The poem deals at length with the feud between Prithivirāja and his neighbour in the south-east, the Chandella king. Prithivirāja was successful and took his rival's capital, Mahobā in the year A.D. 1182. The story of Prithivirāja's leadership of the Rājput league against the Muhammadans and of his final defeat and death in A.D. 1192 belongs to the next chapter.

The Chandella dynasty of Jejākabhukti, or Bundelkhand, was founded about A.D. 800. In the tenth century under Dhanga (A.D. 955-1000), the kingdom stretched from the Jumna in the north to the frontiers of Chedi in the south, and from Kālanjar in the east to Gwālior in the west. Both this prince and Gaṇḍa, his son, joined the leagues, which sought in vain to stem the torrent of the Muhammadan invasion. The principal cities of the Chandella kingdom were Mahobā, Kālanjar, and Khajurāho. They were adorned with some beautiful temples that have endured to our own times. Paramārdi was the king who was defeated by Prithivirāja. He suffered

another and an irreparable disaster in A.D. 1203, when Kālanjar and Mahobā were taken by the Musalmāns under Kūtub-ud-dīn, and the Chandella House sank into the position of petty princes.

Closely connected with the Chandellas are the Kalachuris or Haihayas of Chedi, whose kingdom lay around the modern town of Jabalpur to the south of Jejakabhukti. The Kalachuri or Chedi Era commences



A CHANDEL TEMPLE AT KHAJURAHO

in the year A.D. 249. It has been suggested that this era commemorates the temporary overthrow of the Great Satraps of Ujjain by a Kalachuri chief Īśvaradatta, who had his capital at Traikūṭa in the Konkan. The Satraps soon recovered their power, and the Traikūṭakas may have retired inland in the direction of Chedi. One of their chief cities was named Tripura. At any rate, nothing certain is known of the Kalachuri dynasty between the

**Kalachuris
and
Paramaras**

dates A.D. 249 and A.D. 900. Then the line of kings runs without a break down to the close of the twelfth century.

To the west of Chedi and Jejākabhukti, in Mālhwā, lay the territory of the Paramāras or Ponwārs. Their capital was Dhārā. Two kings of the line are specially worthy of mention because of their connection with Sanskrit literature. The former of these is Munja (A.D. 974-995), in whose reign the authors Dhananjaya, Dhanika, and Halāyudha flourished. Munja carried on a long contest with Taila, the Chālukyan king, on his southern border. The seventh campaign resulted in Munja's defeat and death. His more famous nephew, Bhoja, ascended the throne in A.D. 1010, and reigned for more than forty years. He is the reputed author of several Sanskrit works. He seems to have taken up the quarrel with the Chālukyas, but enjoyed no better success in war than his uncle; for about A.D. 1053 he succumbed to a joint attack of the Gujarāt and Chedi kings, Dhārā the capital being captured. The dynasty lasted on into the twelfth century. Then it was supplanted by other Rājput families, and later by Muhammadan rulers. Finally Akbar made Mālhwā a province of the Mughal Empire.

The princes of the Gupta family, who had ruled in East Magadha, were succeeded by the line of Pāla kings; but about A.D. 1060 another dynasty arose, which reft away the eastern portion of the Pāla territory. Henceforward there were two lines ruling in the east, the Pālas with their capital at Bihār, and the Senas with their capital at Nūdīa (Nuddea). The Pālas were devout Buddhists, and the chief interest attaching to them is that they are the last known Buddhist kings of India. One fate fell upon both houses; they were brought to a sudden end by Muhammad Bakhtiyār. This man was a bold and enterprising soldier who had brought his band of horse to India in search of adventure and wealth, and offered his service at the Muhammadan courts. In A.D. 1193 he surprised the citadel of Bihār with a force of two hundred men. The Muhammadan historians say that the whole city was full of 'Brāhmans with shaven heads,' by whom probably are meant Buddhist monks.

**The Palas and
Senas**

They were slain ruthlessly in the sack which followed the capture of the town; and too late 'it was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study.' It was full of books; but, the monks being all fled or slain, there was none to read or interpret them.

The king of Nūḍiā was the aged Lakshmaṇiṇya, highly esteemed for his justice and piety. He refused to profit by the warning of his ministers and astrologers, of whom many had removed themselves from the impending danger to safer regions in Assam or Orissa. In the year following the sack of Bihār Muhammad Bakhtiyār entered the gate of Nūḍiā, accompanied by only eighteen troopers disguised as horse-dealers. They passed unchallenged through the streets; but on reaching the palace gates they proved themselves to be other than they seemed. The king, who was at dinner with his gold and silver dishes set out before him, escaped with difficulty by the rear of his palace; and all the treasures of his capital became the booty of the daring raider.

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN AND THE SOUTH.—Turning our attention now to the Deccan and the south, we have to notice a group of kingdoms, which were closely related to one another. They were constant rivals in war and underwent frequent changes of fortune.

The Chālukyan kingdom comes first in geographical order, and perhaps also in political importance. The

Early Western

Chalukyas:

A.D. 500-750

tradition of the Chālukyan princes, as a matter of course, makes them to be of Rājput origin of the Lunar Race of Ayodhyā; but whatever may have been the nationality of the reigning House, it is important to observe that the mass of the people belonged to the Dravidian stock. This element so predominated, that an Aryan language, in a modified form, did not become in this area—save in the Marāthā country—the vernacular spoken by the people. The Dravidians were too numerous and their civilisation was too developed for the Dravidian languages to be superseded. Hence Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayālam continue to be spoken down to this day, and have been brought to a high pitch of excellence for literary purposes.

The Dravidian literature makes its first appearance in this period. It resorts largely to Sanskrit for its themes, but it retains its own grammatical structure and a vocabulary very different from the Sanskrit.

The first notable prince among the Chālukyas is Pulakeśin I, who reigned about A.D. 550. He is said to have performed the *Aśvamedha*. His grandson, Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-655), was the monarch who successfully resisted the invasion of King Harsha. Pulakeśin made conquests in all directions, and received an embassy from the Persian king. It is believed that some pictures in the Ajanṭā caves represent the Persian envoys appearing at the court of Pulakeśin. Hiuen Tsang visited the Chālukyan king, and speaks highly of his character and achievements, though the Rāja was no Buddhist, but probably a zealous patron of Brāhmanism. The Chinese scholar relates that the people of the kingdom were simple and honest in their ways, but exceeding proud. They were courageous and warlike. "When a general has lost a battle, they make him wear women's clothes, and thus force him to sacrifice his own life." Hiuen Tsang goes on to say that the State maintained a corps of champions, some hundreds in number. "Each time they prepare for conflict, they drink wine to intoxicate themselves, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand. If they kill a man met upon the road, the Law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign, these heroes march in the van to the sound of the drums." Proud in the possession of these truculent warriors and trusting to his ponderous elephants, the king despised the surrounding nations, and trampled his enemies under his feet. The capital of the Chālukya kingdom was at Vātāpi, or Bādāmi, in the Bijāpur district.

The two most important political events connected with the early Chālukyas are firstly the founding of an Eastern Branch, and secondly the overthrow of the Western Branch by the Rāshtrakūṭas, followed by its restoration after the lapse of two hundred years. Pulakeśin II made his brother, Viṣṇuvardhana, viceroy of the Pallava territory in the east which he had conquered. The seat

of government was at Vengī, between the Godāvārī and the Krishṇā. Here the Viceroy, about A.D. 615, set himself up as an independent monarch and his line lasted till the eleventh century, when one of the family took possession of the Chōḷa throne and united the two Houses.

There was war for generations between the Western Chālukyas and the Pallavas, with fluctuating fortunes.



KAILASA TEMPLE, ELURA

Now the Chālukya capital, and now the Pallava experienced the loss and the humiliation of capture.

A new turn was given to events by the Rāshtrakūṭas who come into prominence about A.D. 750. The Rāshtrakūṭas had been feudatories of the Chālukyas, and were probably a chieftain family that had been long established in the Marāṭhā country. It was Dantidurga, who made the Rāshtrakūṭas the paramount power in the Deccan. He was

**The
Rashtrakutas:
A.D. 750-973**

supplanted by his uncle Kṛishṇa (A.D. 760-783). Kṛishṇa is probably the king who had the wonderful Kailāsa temple cut out of the solid rock at Elūra. Under Govinda III (A.D. 794-814), the most prosperous monarch of the line, Mānyakheta (Mālkhed) in the Nizām's Dominions was made the capital. The Jains flourished during this epoch, and one of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns, Amoghavarsha (A.D. 814-877), was almost certainly a Digambara Jain.

Finally in A.D. 973 the last Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kakka, was overthrown by Taila (A.D. 973-997), who belonged

to a branch of the old Chālukyan House. We have seen already that Taila waged a long war with Munja of Mālwā, and finally defeated and beheaded the Paramāra king. The rising power of the Choḷas brought a new peril from the south, and about A.D. 1000 the Chālukyan territories were overrun by the host of Rājarāja, the most warlike of the Choḷa princes. There was much bitterness in the wars of this age owing to sectarian differences.

Someśwara I, or Āhavamalla (A.D. 1040-1069), founded the city of Kalyāṇa and made it his capital. Hence the later Western Chālukyas are often called the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Someśwara inherited the quarrel with Mālwā and probably defeated Bhoja. His younger son, Vikramāditya, was an able soldier, and led a successful campaign against the Choḷas, capturing Kāñchī, their capital. The story runs that his father, being seized with a fever and feeling that his term of active life was done, drowned himself in the waters of the Tungabhadra after distributing gifts of gold to the Brāhmins upon the banks.

Vikramāditya (A.D. 1076-1127) came to the throne after winning the victory in a contest forced upon him by his elder brother, who had been reigning for several years. The kingdom enjoyed much prosperity under Vikramāditya. The poet Bilhana and Vijnāneśwara, the compiler of the standard law treatise, *Mitāksharā*, were given honours and high office at his court. The *Mitāksharā* concludes with this ascription of praise:—"On the face of the earth there has not been, there is not, and there never will be a town like Kalyāṇa; never was a monarch seen or heard of like the prosperous Vikramārka."

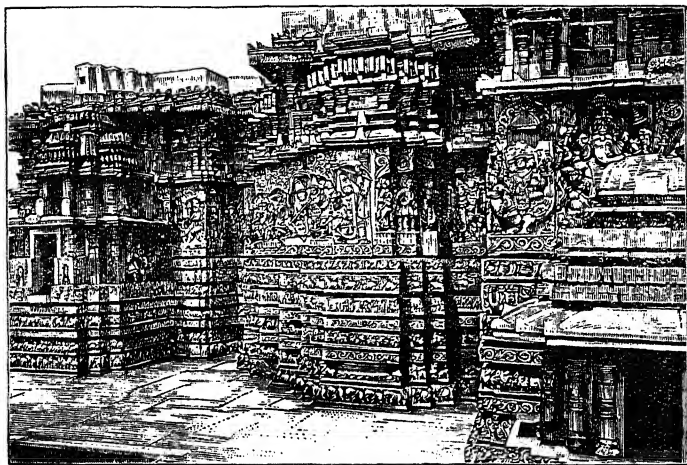
The downfall of the dynasty was brought about in A.D. 1157 by the rebellion of Vijjala or Vijjaṇa, who was a Kalachuri chieftain and served as Commander-in-Chief. Vijjala's brief spell of power is noteworthy for the rise of the Lingāyat or Vira Śaiva sect. One of his ministers was a Brāhman named Basava, who was the leader of the new movement. The Lingāyats claim that he did not found their religion, but only revived an ancient doctrine. There is little difference between the teaching of the Advaita system of Śankarāchārya, and that of the Lingāyats. But outwardly the Lingāyats are distinguished by the wearing of the *linga* round their necks, and by their exclusive worship of Śiva and his bull Nandi. They deny any value to the Vedic sacrifices, and from the beginning of their history there has been a bitter hostility between them and orthodox Brāhmans. Basava instituted the ascetic order of Jangamas, and enlisted adherents from among all classes. He was accused of misappropriating money from the public treasury for the benefit of his followers. The troops, which were sent to arrest him, were defeated, and the king was compelled to make peace with his powerful minister. The sequel is told variously by the Lingāyats and the Jains. According to the former, Basava ordered one of his disciples to assassinate the king in revenge for his having put out the eyes of two Lingāyat devotees. The assassin succeeded in his attempt, the city of Kalyāṇa fell into confusion and ruin, and Basava was absorbed into the image of Sangameśwara, whose temple stood at the meeting-place of the waters of the Kṛishṇā and Malaprabhā. According to the Jains, Basava sent a poisoned fruit to Vijjaṇa by the hand of a Jangama, disguised as a Jain. The king, who was himself a Jain, received the fruit without suspicion and ate it. Discovering that he had been poisoned, he gave orders for the death of Basava. The Lingāyat leader fled to Uḍupi on the Malabar coast, where he flung himself into a well and perished. After his death the movement was directed by his nephew, Channa Basava.

There was a brief recovery of the Chālukyan power under Someśwara IV (A.D. 1188); but after him the princes of the line are lost to view, or are discovered in a

subordinate position. The Chālukya kingdom was crushed out between the Yādavas of Devagiri in the north and the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra in the south.

The site of the Hoysala capital is occupied by the modern hamlet of Halebid in the Mysore State. The perimeter of the vast moat can still be traced; but two celebrated Śaiva temples—one of them partly ruined—and a few crumbling Jain *bastis* are all that remain of the former wealth and magnificence of Dvārasamudra. At first the Hoysalas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭa or Chālukya kings, but the later princes assumed independent

The
Hoysalas:
A.D. 1050-1311



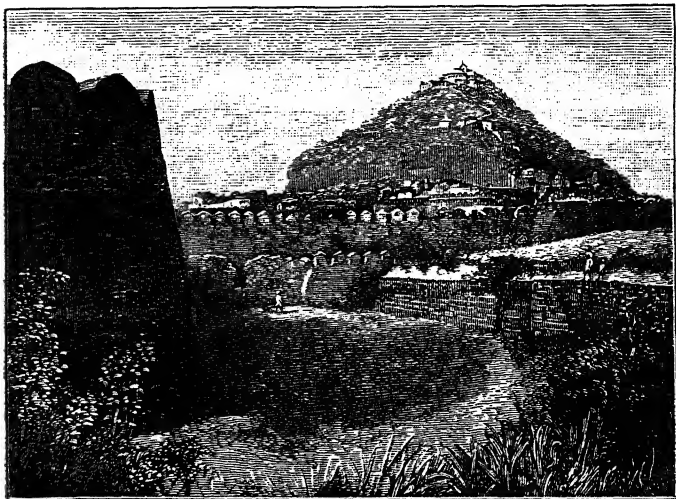
A FACET OF THE HOYSALESWARA TEMPLE, HALEBID

sovereignty—the first to do so being Viraballāla II (A.D. 1173-1224). The common fate overtook Dvārasamudra. Its trembling Rāja, Viraballāla III, delivered up the treasures of his fort and palace to Malik Kāfūr in A.D. 1311, and the ruin of the place was completed by a second Muhammadan invasion in A.D. 1327.

The Yādavas are of more importance politically than the Hoysalas. They also had been vassals to the Rāshtrakūṭa and Chālukya kings. As their name indicates, they

claimed to have come from the north, from the kingdom of Kṛishṇa of Mathurā and Dvāraka. They appear first as

rulers of the district of Sevūnadeśa, stretching from Nāsik to Devagiri or Daulatābād. Then Bhillama took advantage of the disorder in the Chālukyan kingdom to conquer it. This was about A.D. 1187. Singhaṇa (A.D. 1210-1247) greatly extended the boundaries of the Yādava territories. His generals made war with success both in the



DEVAGIRI OR DAULATABAD

north and in the south, and he ruled over an empire as wide as that of any of his Rāshtrakūṭa or Chālukya predecessors. Viraballāla II, the Hoysala king, received a severe check on the southern frontier, and the king of Gujarāt was fain to redeem his country from the devastations of the Yādava army by the payment of tribute.

Hemādri (Hemādpant) flourished during the reigns of Mahādeva (A.D. 1260-1271) and Rāmachandra (A.D. 1271-1309), the grandson and great-grandson respectively

of Singhaṇa. Hemādri is the reputed author of many works in Sanskrit, and the invention of *Modi*, or the running script character, is ascribed, though wrongly, to him. He held the office of Chief Scribe and was a liberal patron of Brāhman scholars. It is quite possible that some of the works attributed to him were really written by his protégés. The greatest of these works is the *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*, in which the now current religion of Hinduism is set forth under the heads of fasts and vows, gifts of merit, pilgrimages, and the path of final deliverance. In an appendix the author treats of the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to the spirits of the departed, the proper times and seasons for religious ceremonies, and expiatory rites.

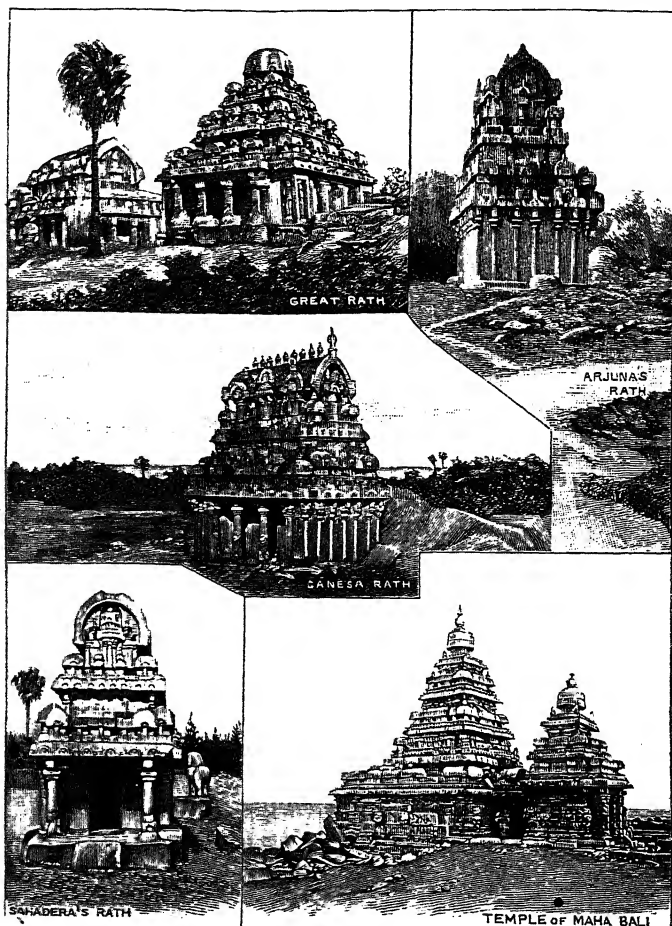
Alā-ud-dīn laid siege to Devagiri in A.D. 1294, and was bought off with the present of a large amount of treasure and the promise of yearly tribute. The latter was not paid, and in A.D. 1307 Malik Kāfūr was sent to demand the arrears. Rāmachandra surrendered himself, and became a mere vassal. His son-in-law, Harapāla, attempted to raise a revolt in A.D. 1318, but was captured and flayed alive.

Devagiri, or Daulatābād, as it was named by the Musalmāns, was evidently regarded by them as the most important city in the Deccan; for Muhammad Tughlak attempted to make it the capital of his empire instead of Delhi in A.D. 1336.*

In relating the history of the Deccan we have had occasion already to mention the Pallavas. They are identified by some writers with the Pahlavas, **The Pallavas :** or Parthians, whose name appears in inscriptions of the north-west. It is suggested that **A.D. 200-1100** they were a foreign Scythian clan, which, under circumstances not known to us, forced its way across the peninsula to the east coast in the first or second century

* Another Central Indian dynasty is the Kākatiyas of Orangal, or Warangal, in the Nizam's Dominions. They belonged to the Telugu country, and took their rise about A.D. 1100. Malik Kāfūr battered the mud walls of Warangal with his catapult stones in A.D. 1310, and reduced the Rāja to a tributary prince. The town was besieged again in A.D. 1321, and the king was sent as a captive to Delhi, the Telugu country being completely subjugated.

of our era. There they established themselves as a ruling House. This theory is not likely to prove true. Pallava



"SEVEN PAGODAS" AT MAHABALIPURAM NEAR MADRAS

dynasties can be traced in broken fashion from A.D. 200 to 1100. At one time the influence of the Pallavas seems to have been wide-spread. Their three principal

seats were Kānchī or Conjeevaram, Vengī, and Pallakada. The paramount chief resided at Kānchī. The Pallava power was probably at its height in the sixth and seventh centuries. The "Seven Pagodas" near Madras, and the rock-cut temples of North Arcot are the work of Pallava kings.

Kānchī was the most southerly point reached by Hiuen Tsang. He says that the kingdom was a thousand miles in circumference, that it contained ten thousand Buddhist monks, though Brāhmans and Jains were numerous. We know, too, that at least one early Pallava king was a Buddhist.

We have already noticed the long-standing feud between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas; and that Vengī was wrested from the latter about A.D. 610 by Pulakeśin II, and under his brother became the capital of the Eastern Chālukya line. In the eighth century, about A.D. 740, the Western Chālukya, Vikramāditya II, took advantage of disputes about the succession to the throne to invade the Pallava territory; and he captured the capital Kānchī. The Pallava House seems never to have recovered from this blow. Branches of the family continued to rule the Tamil districts around Kānchī, and also parts of the Mysore State and the Bellary District; but they never again attained to the position of a great power in the south.

The Pallava power at Kānchī was extinguished by the Choḷa king, Rājarāja, about A.D. 1000. We may note that the Rāja of Pudukotta, the head of the Kallar caste, still uses the title of *Rāja Pallava*.

There remain only the Dravidian kingdoms of the extreme south. These are mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka, and even earlier in Sanskrit literature. But though

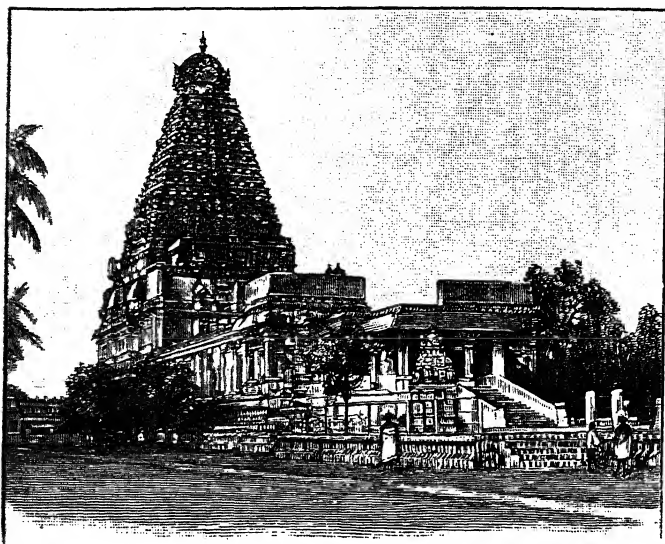
**The Chola and
Pandya King-
doms •**

they were flourishing so long ago, authentic records commence only about the ninth century after Christ. The Choḷa country had the Pennār



COIN OF RAJARAJA

river as its northern and the Vellāru river as its southern boundary, and chieftains of the race ruled territory as far west as Coorg. The earliest capital was Uraiyyūr, or Old Trichinopoly. The greatest king of the line was Rājarāja (A.D. 985-1012). He over-ran almost the whole of India south of the Vindhyas; and maintained a large fleet as well as an army. With the help of his fleet he effected the conquest of Ceylon. His capital was at



A TANJORE TEMPLE

Tanjore, where the great temple still standing was built at his command. The Eastern Chālukya and Chōla Houses were united by Rājendra Chōladeva Kulottunga (A.D. 1070-1118). He was the son of the Chālukya by the daughter of the Chōla monarch. Kānchī thus became the Chōla capital in later times.

The Chōla kingdom was not visited by Hiuen Tsang, who probably refers to it as a hot region inhabited by

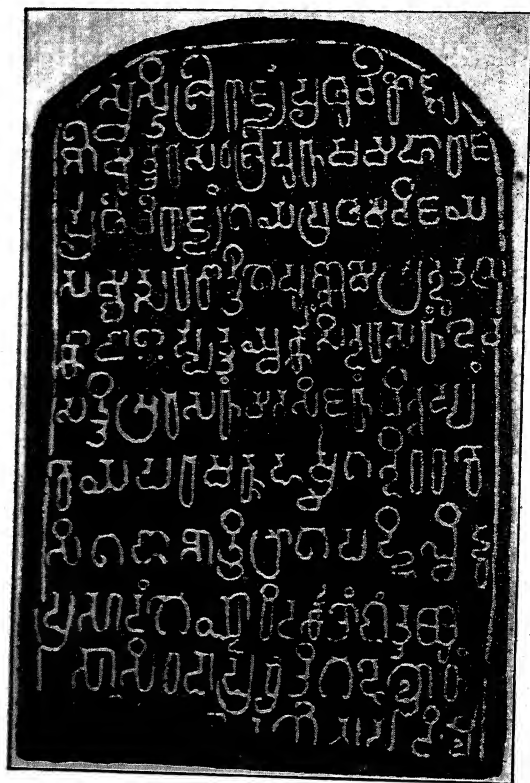
people more addicted to trade than to religion. The Choḷa kings were zealous Śaivas, and Rājarāja destroyed many Jain temples in his campaigns.

The Pāṇḍya country is the apex of the Indian peninsula. The first capital was Korkai at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī river in the Tinnevely district. In times before the Christian era it was the centre of the pearl trade; but, as the river silted up, Kāyal, three miles lower down, was used as the port, and the inland city of Madura became the capital.

The Choḷas and Pāṇḍyas were often at war with each other. The Choḷa Pārāntaka I (A.D. 900-940) claims to have destroyed Madura, and during the tenth and eleventh centuries the Choḷa power predominated. Temple sculptures preserve the memory of a terrible persecution of the Jains under the Pāṇḍya king, Sundara, who had married a Choḷa princess and turned from the Jain to the Śaiva faith. Kānchī and Madura were not so remote as to escape the heavy hand of Malik Kāfur; for they were, both of them, plundered in the year A.D. 1311.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.—We have seen already that this age was full of political strife and unrest, and it was marked also by stir and change in the sphere of religion. **Buddhism and Jainism** still an important system at its commencement, especially among the mixed races of the north-west. The early Muhammadan historians refer frequently to the Buddhist monks, but the ravages of the Arabs in Sindh and Gujarāt must have laid many of their monasteries and shrines in the dust, and decimated the ranks of the Order. The last historical notices of Buddhism are found in the twelfth century. There is an inscription of A.D. 1110, which records how a Kolhāpur prince excavated a tank and erected upon its margin images to Śiva, Arhat, and Buddha; while, in the far east, as we have noted before, the last Buddhist Rāja of Bengal perished at the hand of Muhammad Bakhtiyār in A.D. 1193. Buddhism, therefore, may be said to have ceased to exist in India as an organised religion by the end of the twelfth century. It has left, however, a permanent mark on

Indian thought; and especially through its doctrine of *Prāṇāhimsā*, or the obligation to do no harm to any living creature, it continues to exert an influence down to the present day.



A SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTION

If, however, Buddhism was decaying rapidly, Jainism in the earlier centuries of this period was waxing strong and flourishing. Indeed it is probable that the decay of Buddhism was due in part to the growing influence of the

Jains among the merchants and people of the middle classes, from whom Buddhist teachers had drawn so many of their disciples. The Jains were numerous and powerful in Rājputāna, and in the Chālukya and Hoysala territories; and, further, they were for a long time the prevailing sect in the Pāṇḍya kingdom of the extreme south. The rise of the Vira Śaivas or Lingāyats, who gained many adherents among the traders, must have weakened the influence of the Jains; but the principal cause of their decline was the spread of sectarian Hinduism under Brāhman leadership.

By this movement the ancient national deities, and even the godlings and demons of the caste or village, were brought into connection with the Brāhman civilisation, and a kind of unity was introduced into the system of worship. These many popular gods and goddesses were made out to be various forms either of the Rudra or of the Vishṇu of the *Vedas*, the third member of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, being chiefly an object of philosophical thought. The legends and worships connected with pools and rivers, trees and hills, and the local customs and festivals were elaborated and sanctioned for the use of the people. Numerous *Purāṇas* were composed by the sects, setting forth the supreme excellence of their gods and the efficacy of their peculiar rites. Thus a vast system of religion was built up, ranging from the grossest superstition to the subtlest metaphysical speculation. At the same time a place was marked out for each community in the caste system. There is reason to think that some of the Dravidian literary and priestly classes were recognised as Brāhmins; while Kshatriya genealogies were found for the chieftains and Rājas, and mythological stories were invented to account for the names and occupations of the lower classes.

The chief theatre of this religious and social activity was central and southern India. Here the people were less mixed in origin, and were not so much exposed to the disturbances of foreign invasion. They were also less active and more meditative in temperament than the war-loving races of the north. Thus Brāhman guidance was able to give to Hinduism its most perfect and charac-

teristic development in the south. In the struggle with the Jains and other unorthodox opponents angry words seem to have been followed sometimes by harsh deeds. There was also keen rivalry between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects within the pale of orthodoxy.

The name of Kumārilabhaṭṭa of Bihār is associated with this movement. He is famed to have gone through the length and breadth of the land, confuting and destroying all the adversaries of the Brāhmins. Sankarāchārya, the disciple, was an even greater man than the master. According to the tradition of his followers, he was born in Malabar in A.D. 788, and went into retirement at Kedarnāth in the Himālayas at the early age of thirty-two. He found time, however, to write commentaries on the standard texts of the *Vedānta*, and to proclaim the *Advaita*, or Monistic, interpretation of the scriptures far and wide, preference being given to Śiva as the name and symbol of the Supreme Lord.

A little more than two hundred years later, Rāmānujāchārya was born at Sriperumbadūr in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency,* and became the great exponent of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* doctrine, or Modified Monistic system. He was a worshipper of God under the name of Viṣṇu, and hence his followers became known as Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Fleeing from the persecution of the Śaiva Chōḷa monarch, he came to the court of the Hoysala prince, Vira Ganga or Biṭṭi Deva, where he defeated the Jains in argument and so wrought upon the king that he became a Vaiṣṇava forthwith and took the name of Viṣṇuvardhana.

A century later Madhvāchārya, the great teacher of the *Dvaita* or Dualistic system, arose. He was born near Uḍupi in South Kanara in A.D. 1119. He also—and with greater exclusiveness—gave the preference to Viṣṇu as the supreme god.†

* According to the tradition of his followers Rāmānuja was born A.D. 1017, and died in A.D. 1137.

† All the differences, distinguishing the doctrines of these sects cannot be stated here. The chief of them has to do with the relation between God and the human soul. According to Sankara, all that truly exists is One, and the soul within us is identical with the

The place of the wandering Buddhist monks was taken by a crowd of devotees of all castes, who were sealed with the marks of their chosen god and repeated his name, wherever they went.

These three great teachers held their public controversies and wrote their books in Sanskrit; but we must observe now that, alongside of their work, another stream of thought and devotion flowed in the Dravidian languages. Dravidian literature takes its rise in the period under review, of which the Tamil literature may lay claim to be the most important as the oldest, most extensive, and least dependent on the Sanskrit. The dates of the earliest Tamil books have not been definitely ascertained; but they belong to the epoch A.D. 600-1000. The Jains contributed largely to the early Tamil literature. They are the authors of the *Nālaḍiyār*, a collection of four hundred verses, dealing with the mystery of human life, the transience

supreme Brahma. This Brahma is an impersonal substance, without attributes. The appearances of separate souls and material things are produced by *Māyā*, the principle of Illusion, in union with Brahma. *Isvara*, the Creator and Lord of the Universe, is himself phenomenal, being the first product of *Māyā*, when it envelops Brahma. Final deliverance is attained by the knowledge that one's self is identical with the Supreme Self—Brahma. The worship of a personal god may be permitted to men of inferior intellect; but it is discarded when perfect wisdom has been attained. This teaching was opposed by *Rāmānujāchārya*, who taught that God is a personal being, possessed of all auspicious attributes. Though there is nothing beside One God, yet there are eternal distinctions within the Godhead. God is related to the universe of men and material things as the soul is to the body. The whole aggregate of human souls is—as it were—the intelligent (*chit*) part of his body, and the mass of material things constitutes the non-intelligent (*achit*) part of his body. Salvation consists in everlasting communion with God. *Madhvāchārya*, on the other hand, carries the doctrine of separateness and independence farther—God, the infinite number of individual souls, the things of the material universe are eternally distinct and outside of each other. Both *Rāmānuja* and *Madhvāchārya* lay stress on the grace of God, which confers salvation on men. Thus, in a word, the *Advaita* school teaches that the soul within us is God; the *Visishtādvaita*, that the soul is a part of God; and the *Dvaita*, that the soul is other than God. Sankara's way of salvation is the Way of Knowledge—*Gnāna Mārga*: that of *Rāmānuja* and *Madhvāchārya* is the Way of Devotion—*Bhakti Mārga*.

of youth, pleasure, and wealth, and the bliss of release from the changes of transmigration. The central gem of Tamil poetry is the *Kural*, which treats of these topics of general morality in similar fashion. It is said to be the work of Tiruvalluvar, a Pariah weaver of Mylapore, Madras.

Secetarian Hinduism also has its representatives. Tirunāna Sambandha sang the praises of the god Śiva, and was a doughty adversary of the Jains and Buddhists. He has been assigned as early a date as the seventh century. The *Tiruvāsagam*, however, is the greatest of the Śaiva poems. It is the out-pouring of the heart of Mānikka Vāsagar, whose one cry to his god was, "I am Thine: save me". The Vaishnavas too were not behind-hand in celebrating their favourite deity, and produced a collection of hymns, known as the *Nālāyira Prabandham*.

There is also an extensive literature in Kanarese—the work of Jain, Lingāyat and Brāhman authors. The Telugu literature is less ancient and profuse.

A REVIEW OF THE PERIOD.—We have come now to the close of a great epoch in the history of India. The twofold tendency of the Vedic religion and philosophy has reached its termination, on the one hand, in Śankara's doctrine of the impersonal and unqualified Substance, and on the other hand in the teaching of Rāmānuja and Madhva about a personal and beneficent God. The opposition of Knowledge, Works, and Faith has been developed. Law has been codified, and the position of the classes has been fixed in the caste system. This, therefore, is a convenient time and place to pass in review the whole course of the Hindu civilisation.

It is important to notice that the chief treatises on Law and Statecraft, which we possess, are Brāhman text books, and that the mass of the people were left to follow their own unwritten customs. What was customary within the caste was the law for the lower castes. The extant *Dharmaśāstras* are not codes, in the modern sense of having been enacted by the king or legislature and made

**The Brahman
Ideal of the
State**

of universal application. They were compiled by Brāhmins for the use and benefit of Brāhmins, and are chiefly occupied with the duties proper to a Brāhmin, though they also contain sections on the duties of kings and of men of other classes.

Of such treatises we have mentioned already the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, the *Yājñavalkyaśāstra*, and the *Mitāksharā*. Although many other similar compilations were drawn up at a later date—among which the most important is the *Dharmaratna* of Jimūtavāhana, written probably in the fifteenth century and containing the section on Inheritance, *Dāyabhāga*, which is still the standard work for Bengal—they add nothing new to the Brāhmin ideal of the State.

This cannot be understood apart from certain religious ideas; for according to Brāhmin teaching the social and political order is the result of *Karma*. The station and duties of a man in life are determined once and for all by his birth; and his birth depends upon *Karma*, or the accumulated effect of actions in previous existences. Thus it is *Karma*, which causes one to be born as a Brāhmin and another as a Kshatriya or warrior, a third as a Vaiśya or merchant and a fourth as a Śūdra or labourer. In the ideal State the warrior is king, and he must resort for counsel to wise Brāhmins. It is his duty to protect all classes and especially to show favour and liberality towards Brāhmins. Where they flourish, the kingdom prospers; where they are neglected, it decays.

Judged by modern standards, there are many grave defects in this ideal. It legislates for a class rather than for the whole. The Brāhmin insisted too much on his right to rule, and too little on his obligation to serve. He was more anxious to get wealth from the prince than to give knowledge to the people. There is no recognition of the equality of all men before the law. Penalties are graded according to caste; they are made light for the man of high degree and heavy upon the man of low degree. The administration of justice was hampered by many superstitious ideas about auspicious and inauspicious times and seasons and places. Some of the punishments prescribed are barbarous in the

The Defects in the Ideal

extreme, and follow the principle of 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.' Slavery was a legalised institution, and the status assigned to woman was low. Mean expedients of espionage and guileful craft were recommended to kings for the maintenance of their power and for the proving of the virtue and fidelity of their sons and servants. The gravest defect of all lay deeper. The Brāhman legislator would have settled every matter by citing the opinions of the elders: the Past was made the sole arbiter of truth and became a tyrant to the Present and the Future. Custom counted for more than Reason or Right. The idea was lacking that law must adapt itself progressively to the changing needs of man and the conditions of the age, and that it is capable of endless improvement, as the moral sense of the race and the public conscience becomes more enlightened and refined.

The Hindu civilisation shares many of its defects with the earlier civilisations of Europe. Caste, however, is an institution peculiar to India. It originated in the racial distinction between the Āryas and the older inhabitants of India; but it was fostered and developed by the physical and political conditions of the country. The various peoples were not separated from one another by natural boundaries, clearly marked and difficult to cross; it was possible for armies to march from province to province. On the other hand, the means of communication had not yet been invented, which would have enabled rulers to overcome the difficulties of administering under a central Government so vast an area; nor did the tribes develop those civic virtues which might have enabled them to coalesce into one great nation. They were near enough and weak enough to be conquered and plundered; they were too many, too unlike, and too far apart to acknowledge and to be governed by one sovereign power. Caste was India's substitute for nationality. There were kingdoms many, which fluctuated continually in the extent of their territory and power. There were numerous ruling Houses, with only rarely a real bond of union between prince and people. But while kingdoms might rise and fall and one dynasty succeed another, the caste remained. It gave to the individual the permanence

and the communal interests, which other races found in their national life.

Complementary to Caste was the organisation of the Hindu village. Where this was perfect, the village formed a community self-sufficient and in part self-governing. The principle of the division of labour was recognised, the carpenter and smith

**The Village
Community**

making the house or plough and the ryot paying them in grain. In some districts the village, and not the individual, was the owner of the land, and it had the control of the cultivation. By means of its hereditary police and revenue officials, it guarded home and harvest, and paid its annual tribute to the Government. Disputes, both civil and criminal, were settled in a *panchāyat* of the elders. Thus, where the central Government had so few departments, and those so irregular in their working, the village system supplied a measure of security and justice to the rural population. Its machinery was not destroyed by a change of dynasty, but was always ready to the hand of a new ruler. While the authority of the village was civil and economic, that of Caste was religious and social. Useful and necessary as the village organisation was, it could not—any more than Caste—produce a nation; for the affairs of the village are small, and its spirit is parochial rather than national.

Caste has brought mingled good and ill in its train. It has established a social order and has enforced a moral discipline, thought not of the highest kind.

**The Good and
Evil of Caste**

It has helped to preserve learning among the Brāhmins and manual skill among the craftsmen, resembling in this respect a professional or trade Guild. It has done the work of a Poor Law, making it obligatory for the richer members of a caste to help their less fortunate brethren. But on the other hand it has discouraged originality and enterprise, causing industry and learning to run in well-worn grooves. It has prevented natural and wholesome intercourse among the classes, and has set a gulf between one community and another. It has fed the pride of the highborn, and taken hope and ambition from the lowly. Caste had much to do with making an India that was stagnant and divided against itself; for stagnation and division were characteristic of

India, when the principles of this civilisation had wrought their perfect work.

The religious leaders had a noble idea of the presence and working of the Divine everywhere in the Universe, and taught truly that there is a life superior

**The Principle
of Compromise**

to and more real than sensual enjoyment. But unhappily they were too eager to include all forms of religious worship within their systems. They failed to realise that the first duty of true religion is to select and propagate the good and to reject and destroy the evil. The Brāhman principle of compromise and accommodation—a false toleration of the untrue



WORSHIP OF TREES AND SNAKES

and the base—was fatal to religious progress. Hence the loathsome secret rites of the Śāktas, the licentious indulgence of the Kṛishṇa sects, and the dark and enslaving superstitions of the aborigines and the unlettered villager became parts of the Hindu system. The prevalent stagnation and decay were not confined to commerce, industry, and political life; they extended also to the intellectual and moral realm.

History lends little support to the view that the growth of the Hindu civilisation was arrested and destroyed by foreign invasion. It had ample time to put forth its flower and bear its fruit before the coming of the Muhammadan. Wherein it failed, the causes must be found within itself. We have seen already that the

religion of the *Vedas* was not a simple and pure Nature worship; but it was a more joyous, free, and manly system than the composite Hinduism, by which it was afterwards overlaid. As the centuries went by, India passed under the influence of an enervating philosophy of pessimism. All human life seemed to be an endless cycle of births and deaths—of the rise, prosperity, and decay of kingdoms—of the forthgoing and indraught of worlds. There was no sovereign Providence or moral purpose in the Universe, and, therefore, no room for hopeful endeavour; the supreme bliss was to find a way of escape from the dreary round of existences. The breath of new thoughts and ideals was needed to blow upon India, bringing another spring-time and raising the sap of a fuller and more generous life in the ancient trunk and branches.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDU PERIOD PRECEDING THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST

About A.D. 650 to 1300

RELIGION AND
LITERATURE.

MUHAMMADAN
HISTORY.

NORTH INDIAN STATES.

SOUTH INDIAN STATES.

249 Kalachuri or Chedi era begins.
465-530 Contest with the Huns.

200-1000 Pallava Rajas reign on east coast and in parts of southern India.
500-750 Early or Western Chālukyas reign; Vātāpi is the capital.
609-655 Pulakesin II reigns.

606-648 King Harsha reigns.

620 His brother, Vishnuvardhana, founds Eastern Chālukya dynasty at Vengi.

740 Pallava capital, Kānchī, is taken by Western Chālukya king.

750-973 Rāshtrakūta line supersedes Western Chālukyas.

712 Muhammad Kāsim invades Sindh.

783 Gurjara King Vatsarāja is reigning at Ujjain.
800-1193 Pāla dynasty reigns at Bihār.

840 Vatsarāja's grandson, Bhoja, establishes himself at Kanauj.

900-1100 Kalachuris reign in central India.

941 Mularāja founds Solanki dynasty at Anhilvād.

879 Manṣūra and Muṭtān Sultans become independent.

974-995 Paramāra king, Munja reigns at Dhārā.
1018-1060 Munja's nephew, Bhoja, reigns at Dhārā.

1000-1026, Mahmud of Ghazni invades India.

Brahman Revival under Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.

Hsuen Tsang is visiting India.

788 - 820 Sankarācārya flourishes.

1017 Rāmānujācārya is born.
Bhoja patronises Sanskrit literature.

794-814 Govinda III makes Mānya-kheta capital of Rāshtrakūtas.

973 Taila restores Chālukya dynasty.

985-1012 Chola king, Rajārāja, reigns; makes extensive conquests.

- 1060 Sena dynasty of Eastern Bengal arises; reigns at capital Nūḍia.
- 1040-1069 Chālukya king, Somesvara I, reigns; makes Kalyāna his capital.
- 1076-1118 Chālukya Cholaḍeva Kuloṭunga reigns; unites Eastern Chālukya and Chola kingdoms.
- 1076-1127 Vikramāditya reigns at Kalyāna.
- 1157 Vijjana usurps Chālukya throne.
- 1170 Prithivīrāja unites Ajmir and Delhi kingdoms.
- 1182 He defeats Paramārdi and takes Chandella capital, Mahobā.
- 1192 Battle of Tarain—Prithivīrāja is slain.
- 1193-1194 Muhammad Bakhtiyār takes Bihār and Nūḍia.
- 1194 Jayachchandra of Kanauj is defeated.
- 1203 Kālanjar and Mahobā are taken by Kutb-ud-dīn.
- 1210-1236 Altamsh reigns.
- 1296-1316 Muhammad Alā-ud-dīn reigns at Delhi.
- 1240-1309 Hemādri flourishes at the court of Yādava kings—Mahādeva and Rāmachandra.
- 1307 Rāmachandra submits to Malik Kāfir.
- 1310-1311 Malik Kāfir plunders Dvārasamudra, Kāuchī, and Madura.
- 1318 Harapala of Devagiri revolts.
- Bilhana and Vijuānesvara flourish at Chālukya Court.
- 1119 Madhvāchārya is born.
- Lingāyat Sect arises under Basava at Kalyāna.
- Buddhism is extinct.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

CHAPTER X

The Muhammadan Conquest and the Early Kings of Delhi

A.D. 1000-1414

It is a change, sudden and complete, to pass from Hindu to Muhammadan India. We enter all at once, as it were, another world and breathe a new air. The early Muhammadan invaders were men of a roving and warlike disposition. They combined abounding physical strength and courage with an intense zeal for the stern and simple creed of Islām. The leaders were consumed with a desire to break in pieces the idols of India, and at the same time to earn a rich reward for themselves in the jewels and gold of the idolater.

THE GHAZNAWIDS: A.D. 999-1186—Mahmūd of Ghaznī is the first figure that commands our attention. His father, Sabuktigīn, originally a Turkish slave, had made himself the master of wide territories, with Ghaznī as his capital. He had shown the way to easy victories and great riches by his contest with Jaipāl, whose capital was at Bhaṭīṇḍa in the P a n j ā b. Sabuktigīn raided his territory; and, when Jaipāl attempted to retaliate, he was defeated in 988 and was com-



GOLD COIN OF MAHMUD

pelled to cede Lamghān, or Jalālābād. Three years later (991) Jaipāl formed a league of Hindu princes against the Ghaznī Sultān; but once more he was worsted in battle and had to surrender Peshāwar to the victor.* Unable to survive the shame of these defeats and losses, he laid

* In many books the date of this battle is given as 1001; but the account given above appears to be supported by the better authority.

himself down on the funeral pyre, leaving his son, Ānandpāl, to take up the task of defending the approaches to India.

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI: A.D. 999-1030.—Sabuktigin's son, the celebrated Mahmūd, succeeded to his father's throne in 999. He is said to have made a vow that every year he would undertake a campaign against the infidels, and he began to make raids upon the Panjāb. In 1009 Ānandpāl made a great effort to resist the invaders. He formed another Hindu league and gathered to his help a large number of the leading princes of the north. The two hosts met at Bhaṭiṇḍa. At first victory seemed to incline towards the Hindus. The active Gakkhars got in among the files of Mahmūd's horse, and within a few minutes wrought great havoc. The Muslim army was already wavering, when Ānandpāl's elephant, unable to bear the smart of flaming arrows, bolted from the field. The Hindus, supposing that their leader was fleeing, gave way on all sides. The capture of the fortress of Kāngra, or Nagar-koṭ, with its immense treasures, was the immediate reward of this victory.

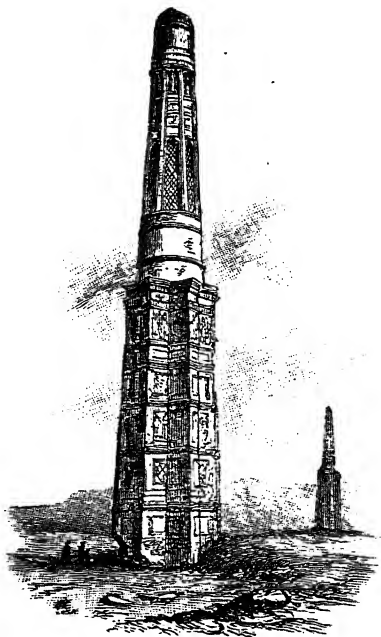
In later wars Mahmūd took the strong and wealthy cities of Thāṇeśar, Kanauj, Mathurā and Kālanjar. Everywhere he smashed the idols, razed the temples to the ground, and carried off much booty and many captives to enrich his capital of Ghaznī.

In all, he seems to have undertaken no less than seventeen campaigns. The last but one of these was directed against the famous shrine of Somnāth in Gujarāt. Its *linga* was one of the most sacred in India; and common report among the Hindus said that, unless the Lord of Somnāth had been displeased with the other gods, Mahmūd would not have been suffered to rifle and destroy their shrines. In the year 1025 Mahmūd set out with thirty thousand horse to prove that rumour told an idle tale. He marched by way of Mūltān, and plundered Anhilvād, from which the Rāja had fled in despair of offering a successful resistance. At length Mahmūd reached the holy city, its wall washed by the waves of the

**The
Destruction of
Somnath**

western ocean. The simple folk of the countryside had not believed that he could approach so near, and now the Brāhmans from the ramparts made mock of his designs. Their prayers and incantations were all in vain; for the Muslim soldiers reared their scaling ladders against the walls and effected a lodgment upon them. Some of the garrison fled to the temple, and clasping their hands about the idol entreated its aid; while others made a last stand before the gate. Mahmūd forced his way in and broke the image to pieces with his mace, while the city was given up to plunder and massacre. A vast number of the inhabitants were slain, the temple was laid in ruins; and Mahmūd set out on the return march, bearing with him the temple gates and a portion of the image, which was to serve as a paving-stone in the grand mosque at Ghaznī. His route lay through the desert, where his army suffered greatly from thirst, and they were much harassed by the Gakkhar guerillas. Mahmūd's last expedition was made in the following year to chastise these tribesmen for the trouble they had given.

Mahmūd was not simply a great soldier: he was also a shrewd ruler and a patron of Persian literature and art. His capital became one of the most beautiful and renowned cities in the Muhammadan world. It was adorned by numerous mosques and the palaces and gardens of the



MAHMUD'S PILLAR, GHAZNI

Sultān and his nobles. Mahmūd gathered around him many distinguished men of letters, of whom Bīrūnī, the astronomer and historian, and Firdausī, author of the *Shāh-nāma*, are specially worthy of mention.

Mahmūd had two sons—Muhammad and Masūd, about whom he felt many misgivings, fearing that through them his kingdom would be undone. Muhammad succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father, but he was speedily deposed by

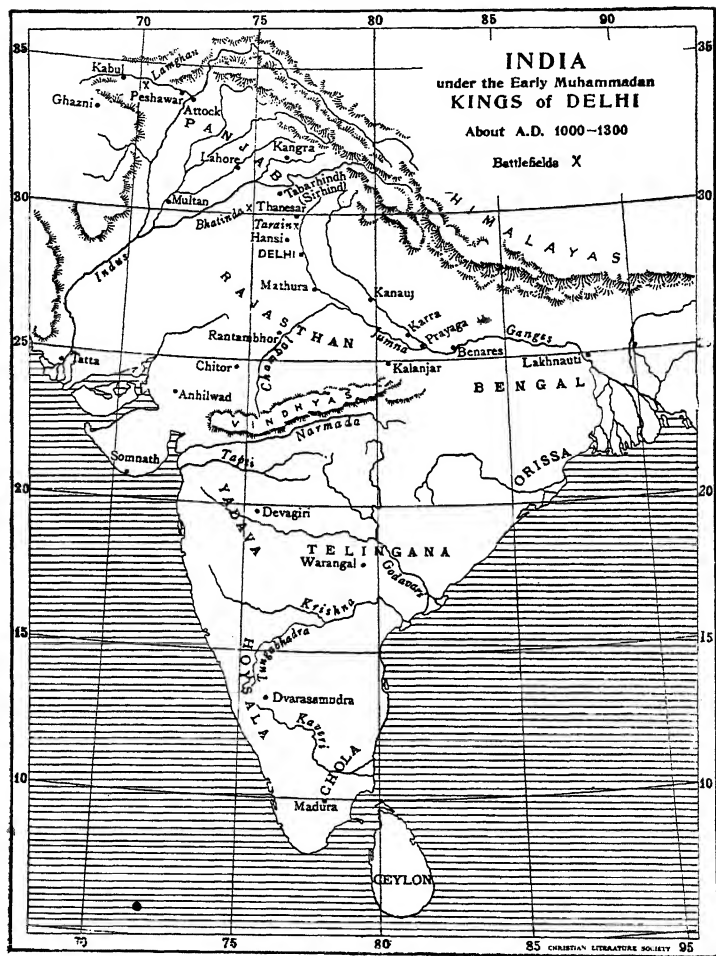
**Masud : 1030-
1040**

Masūd, who first blinded his brother and then threw him into prison. Masūd was a man of extraordinary strength. There was none other who could wield his battle-axe, with one blow from which he had once felled an elephant to the ground. He was able to out-last all his courtiers at a drinking bout. It is told of him, that one day, after quaffing twenty-seven goblets of wine, he proceeded to spread his carpet and say his prayers with all due gravity.

But for all his bodily strength, Masūd had not the heart and brain to keep what his father had won. Niyāltigīn, the military governor of Mūltān, who had distinguished himself by a raid as far east as Benāres, raised a revolt in India and seized Lahore. He was defeated by Tilak, a Hindu convert, who was a favourite with Masūd and had accepted the dangerous task of subduing the rebel (1034). Masūd himself was bent on taking the fortress of Hānsī, west of Delhi, which had not submitted even to his father. Contrary to the advice of his ministers, who warned him that his presence and all his power were needed on the western border of his kingdom, where the Saljūk Turks had invaded and occupied the province of Khurāsān, he set out with his army for India. Hānsī was reduced with much toil (1036); but in the meanwhile the danger in the west had increased. Too late Masūd tried to recover what was lost. In 1040 he was utterly defeated; and the kingdom of the Ghaznawids was contracted to the region round Ghaznī and the Panjāb.

THE GHORIS: A.D. 1149-1206.—The dynasty, however, was extinguished by another and nearer foe. Mahmūd had to curb the power of the chieftains of Ghor, who lived in the mountains to the west of Ghaznī. In the reign of the

Ghaznawid, Bahrām Shāh (1118-1152), the struggle was renewed. The king of Ghaznī was worsted and fled to the



Panjab, but he returned during the winter, when the Ghori chieftain was cut off by the snows from reinforcements,

and re-occupied his capital. The Ghorī and his prime minister were hanged upon the bridge over the river. Alā-ud-dīn, the brother of the slain chief, took a terrible revenge. In 1155 he took Ghaznī again, and gave the city up to fire and slaughter. Seven days and nights he sat drinking, while mosques, palaces, and libraries were perishing in the flames. The tombs of the kings were rifled and their bones cast abroad—only the graves of Mahmūd, Masūd and Ibrāhīm being spared this dishonour. Alā-ud-dīn earned for himself the title of Jahān-Soz, or 'World-Burner', by this act of retribution.

Alā-ud-dīn's nephew, Muhammad Ghorī,* though less famous than Mahmūd, really laid the foundations of permanent Muhammadan rule in India. His brother, Ghiyās-ud-dīn, became Sultān of Ghor in 1163, and made Muhammad Governor of Ghaznī in 1173. Thereafter Muhammad's

strength was spent in the conquest of northern India, and upon his brother's death in 1203 he succeeded also to the sovereignty of Ghor. His first efforts were aimed at reducing Sindh and the Panjāb. The city of Mūltān, which was in the possession of the heretical sect of the Karmatians, was compelled to submit in 1175, and finally in 1185 Malik Khusrū, the last of the Ghaznawids, who had retired to Lahore on the loss of Ghaznī, was captured and sent to languish as a prisoner in a dungeon of the ancestral Ghorī fortress at Fīroz-koh. Thus all India that was then Muhammadan passed into the Ghorī's hands.

The way was now open for further conquest. The Hindu Rājas were alive to the danger threatening them, and under the leadership of Prithivirāj they formed a league, Jayachandra of Kanauj holding aloof. The armies met at Tarain, ten miles north of Karnāl, in the year 1191. It was the first great clash of Musalmān and Rājput. Muhammad was severely wounded and withdrew from the combat. He would have fallen from his horse, had not a brave Khaljī of Ghor seen his plight and, leaping up behind, held him upon the saddle. The whole Muslim army took to flight and did not draw rein for many miles. Next year Muhammad returned with a

* Otherwise known as Shahāb-ud-dīn or Muhammad-bin-Sām.

mightier host, burning to wipe out the disgrace of this defeat. The field of battle was the same, but the issue was far different. The Rājputs were totally defeated and the gallant Prithivīrāj, being taken prisoner, was put to death. His capital of Delhi became the centre of Muhammadan empire. Jayachchandra soon tasted the bitter fruit of disunion; for Kanauj was stormed and the king himself was slain, as he fell back in the direction of Benāres (1194). Aibak Kutb-ud-dīn, an able and valiant slave of Muhammad, was made viceroy of Delhi, and extended the Muhammadan power in the south and west, reducing Kālanjar, Mālhwā, and Gujarāt, while Muhammad Bakhtiyār was making an easy conquest of Bengal.

The further fortunes of the Ghorī monarch do not belong to the history of India. He hankered after empire in the west and led an expedition to Khiva, which ended in total disaster to himself (1203). His territories rose in revolt, but with the aid of Aibak he recovered all. He was assassinated in 1206 by some Gakkhars, as he lay secure in his camp on the banks of the Indus.

THE SLAVE KINGS: A.D. 1206-1290.—From the time of Muhammad's death Aibak was an independent monarch reigning at Delhi. He is the founder of the line of Slave Kings. He did not long survive his old master; for he died of a fall from his horse, while playing polo, in the year 1210. His chief military exploits were achieved during the reign of Muhammad Ghorī. Aibak commenced the series of magnificent Muhammadan buildings in India. He used the materials of Hindu temples to erect a Jāma Masjid at his capital of Old Delhi. The lofty minaret, the Kutb-Mīnār, seems to have been begun by him; but probably it was finished by his successor, Altamsh, and it takes its name from the famous saint, Khwāja Kutb-ud-dīn, whose tomb is close by.

On Aibak's death his adopted son proved quite unequal to the task of governing. Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh, one of his slaves, superseded him at Delhi; while Kabācha, the son-in-law of Aibak, assumed independence in Sindh, and Yaldūz reigned at Ghaznī and Lahore. Altamsh, therefore, had to

Altamsh:
1210-1236

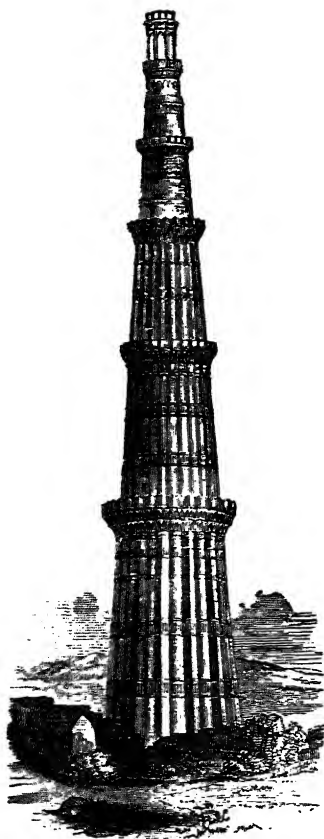
win back a great part of the territories ruled over by Aibak. He had established his authority in the Panjāb by 1216, having defeated and slain Yaldūz; he compelled the Governor of Bengal to profess allegiance in 1225; two

years later his son seized Lakhnauti and put the Governor to death; and finally Kabācha, worn out by his long struggle with the Mughals and the Khwārizm Shāh, who harassed him on the one side, and Altamsh, who pressed him on the other, was drowned in attempting to escape from the fort in which he was invested, or perhaps he committed suicide.

Altamsh thus restored unity to the kingdom ruled over by his predecessor, and he was invested by the Khalif of Baghdād with the title of Sultān of Hindustān.

In his reign the Mughals made their first appearance. They were now under the dreaded Changīz Khān, who defeated the Turkish Shāh of Khwārizm. Both the Shāh and Yaldūz of Ghaznī were fugitives before the savage Mughal horsemen, who pursued them across the frontiers of India, and ravaged the Panjāb and Sindh.

Altamsh died in 1236, and once again the heirs of the monarch proved unfit for rule. Fīrūz Shāh, his son, gave himself up to pleasure and left the power in the hands of his mother. The Queen-Dowager took the



THE QUTUB-MINAR, DELHI

opportunity to gratify her likes and dislikes, and within six months both son and mother were removed by a conspiracy of the nobles. The daughter

Raziya
1236-1240

of Altamsh, Raziya, was then declared ruler. It is said that during his lifetime her father, knowing the weakness of his sons and the virtues of his daughter, wished to nominate her as his successor, and would have done so but for the remonstrances of his ministers. They were compelled afterwards to admit that the Sultān had been right in his judgement; for says the Chronicler, "Sultān Raziya was a great monarch. She was wise, just and generous. . . She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex; and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless." The feeling against having a woman set over them was strong among the nobles, and Raziya had to wage many a combat with the unwilling and the rebellious. She put on the helmet and coat of the soldier and rode to battle at the head of her troops. Though she was successful for a while, her favours to an Abyssinian slave excited jealousy and disaffection. The Queen was defeated and taken prisoner by Altūnīa, the Governor of Tabarhindh or Sirhind. She made a woman's conquest of her conqueror by marrying him and the two attempted together to retake Delhi, which had fallen into the hands of a rival faction in the absence of the Sultāna. They failed, however, and were captured and killed, as they sought safety in flight.

Two more descendants of Altamsh—a son and grandson—sat on the throne for brief periods, and then his son,

Nasir-ud-din: the mild-natured Nāsir-ud-dīn, was set up, and ruled in name for twenty years (1246-1266).
1246-1266

His right hand was Ulugh Khān or Balban, who had been one of the famous corps of forty Turkish slaves belonging to Altamsh and had married his daughter. The danger, which the Muhammadans of Delhi dreaded most, was an invasion of the Mughals. Their host hung like a dark cloud in the north-west, constantly threatening disaster. In 1241 they had captured and sacked Lahore, and it needed all Balban's wisdom and strength to defend the frontiers. His successes in battle aroused the envy

of some of the nobles, especially of Raihān, a Hindu convert, who had gained the ear of the Sultān. Balban was dismissed to his estates at Hānsī in 1253; but even in exile and disgrace he was able to show his prowess by maintaining order among his turbulent Rājput neighbours. Next year, when a revolt broke out among the dissatisfied nobles, unable to brook any longer the supremacy of Raihān, Balban was recalled to court and reinstated in his office.

On the death of the Sultān the general ascended the throne. A leading feature of Balban's policy was the defence of the realm against the Mughals.

Balban:
1266-1287

The frontier was placed in the charge of his cousin, Sher Khān, who was at the head of a well-equipped standing army. The fortresses on the path to Delhi were set in order and strengthened. Such was Balban's fear of the Mughals that, when he was urged by some of his nobles to follow the example of other Muhammadan kings and extend his conquests in India, he replied that times had changed—former kings had not to guard against the Mughal peril, but, if he

should leave his capital and embark on distant enterprises, the enemy would seize the opportunity to strike a blow at Delhi, the very heart of his kingdom.



COIN OF BALBAN

Balban had also to establish order within his own borders. The wild clans of the hills had grown so insolent that they robbed travellers under the very walls of the capital. The Sultān took his army into the jungles and hunted the tribesmen down. His soldiers were offered a reward for every head brought in and slew their thousands. Many were taken prisoners and were afterwards executed at Delhi, where their bodies, stuffed with straw, were set up outside the walls as a terror and

warning to evil-doers. Roads were carried through the jungles, and safety was restored.

It remained to bring insubordinate Viceroys to heel. The Governor of Lakhnauti, Tughril, a favourite slave of Balban, had set himself up as an independent sovereign and was issuing coins in his own name. Two armies sent against him were defeated, and the aged Balban himself took the field in 1281, vowing in wrath that he would not return to Delhi until he had completely reduced his rebellious vassal. Regardless of the discomforts of the rainy season, the army pushed on through flooded fields to Lakhnauti or Gaur. Tughril had not the courage to meet the enraged Sultān and fled. He was pursued, and his camp was surprised by a small band of horse, himself being overtaken and slain. Balban took a terrible revenge on the rebellious city. The long bazaar street was lined with gibbets, on which were hung the bodies of Tughril's kinsmen and all who had taken part in the rising. Balban put in his second son, Bughrā Khān, as viceroy; and before he left, warned him to take note of the fate of all traitors and rebels. Returning to Delhi, the Sultān died in the year 1287.

**The
Reduction of
Bengal**

The death in battle of Balban's favourite son, Muhammad, had been an insupportable grief to his old age. He knew that his own second son was no worthy successor to his throne, and he therefore nominated an infant son of Muhammad as his heir. His choice was set aside, and Kai-Kubād, a son of Bughrā Khān, became Sultān. He was a lad of seventeen, who had been brought up strictly; and, as soon as he gained his liberty, he gave way to unbridled indulgence in evil pleasures. Public affairs were neglected; and three years after his ascending the throne the young prince, who lay helpless and paralyzed—the victim of his own intemperance—was dismissed from life by the appointed assassin with two brutal and contemptuous kicks.

**Kai-Kubād :
1287-1290**

THE KHALJIS: A.D. 1290-1320—The sceptre now passed from the Turkī nobles into the hands of the Afghāns, known as Khaljis. They derived their name from Khalj,

a village in Afghānistān, and formed one party in the State. Their leader was the venerable Jalāl-ud-dīn, who assumed the sovereignty with the title of Fīrūz Shāh. The inhabitants of Delhi, accustomed to nearly a century of rule by Turkish Sultāns, regarded the Khaljī as a usurper. Jalāl-ud-dīn first took up his residence in the palace of Kīlūgharī on the banks of the Jumna outside the city. Not until a year had passed and his virtues had found favour with the people, did he venture to go within the walls and seat himself upon the throne of the kings of Delhi. He had also to meet more open hostility. Chhajjū, nephew of Balban and Governor of Karra, headed a revolt against him, but was easily defeated. On this occasion Fīrūz Shāh showed conspicuously the mildness of his disposition. He treated the captured rebels with the utmost clemency, saying that at his age, when he should be preparing for another world, he was not willing to shed the blood of fellow Muslims. This same mercy he extended even to robbers and murderers—so much so, that some of his nobles felt bound to remonstrate with him. They protested that a king's rule is upheld by awe and fear; and that the Sultān's gentleness in dealing with rebels and evil-doers must inevitably undermine his authority.

Jalāl-ud-dīn had a nephew, Alā-ud-dīn, who had been appointed Governor of Karra in succession to Chhajjū. He cherished the design of making himself king. It was urged in his presence that Chhajjū had only failed for lack of money; and Alā-ud-dīn set himself to find the sinews of war. The distant Devagiri was reputed to be rich beyond the power of words to tell. In 1294 Alā-ud-dīn set out secretly on an expedition against the Yādava capital. His force consisted only of eight thousand horse, but they moved so rapidly that the city was surprised and spoiled of much of its treasure. On his return Alā-ud-dīn made a pretence of being afraid of his uncle's displeasure at an exploit which had not received the royal sanction; and he lured the old and unsuspecting sovereign to his camp. As they crossed the Jumna in a boat, the companions of Fīrūz Shāh foresaw and foretold treachery; but the Sultān insisted upon going on and was cut down in the very act of embracing his nephew.

Alā-ud-dīn then marched upon Delhi. He scattered gold all the way out of his vast spoils, and the soldiers flocked to his standard. The two sons of the **Ala-ud-din:** late Sultān fell into his hands, and their eyes **1296-1316** were put out; while the families of the nobles likely to give trouble were destroyed root and branch. The man, who thus waded to the throne in blood, proved to be one of the strongest of the Muhammadan rulers. He greatly increased the extent of the Delhi kingdom and added to its resources. His prosperity led him to indulge in dreams of founding a new religion like another Muhammad, and of conquering the whole world like a second Alexander. But the faithful and fat Kotwāl of Delhi advised him to leave the making of religions to those who had divine inspiration; and, as for conquering the world, the Sultān would do well to subdue first the Hindu kingdoms lying adjacent to his dominions in the south. This sound advice was taken.

Alā-ud-dīn began with reducing Mālhwā and Rājputāna. His first attempt was made on Rantambhor in 1300. It made a long and desperate resistance, but at length Alā-ud-dīn prevailed. **His**
Conquests In 1303 the streets of the famous Guhila capital, Chitor, were trodden for the first time by the foot of a Muhammadan conqueror; but the cost of the victory was great. From 1307 to 1311 Malik Kāfur, a great favourite of the Sultān, was employed in campaigns in the south. He reduced Devagiri, which had failed to pay its promised tribute, in 1307; took the Kākatīya capital of Warangal in 1310; and in the following year the Hoysala city of Dvārasamudra surrendered at his summons. Even Madura in the far south was plundered by this marauder, who brought back immense spoils in elephants, horses, jewels and gold to his master at Delhi.

In the early years of his reign Alā-ud-dīn was assailed by many revolts among his nobles; and he was also exposed to the standing peril of an invasion by the Mughals. In 1298 a great battle was fought close to Delhi, after which, though the result was not decisively in favour of the

**His Internal
Policy**

Sultān, the Mughals stole away during the night. They returned, however, a few years later in 1303, when the Delhi forces were wasted by the siege of Chitor and the capital was ill prepared for defence. Great alarm was felt, but the enemy retired without venturing to attack. These recurring dangers required strong measures; and Alā-ud-dīn was troubled by no fine scruples in carrying out



GOLD COIN OF ALA-UD-DIN

what he thought to be necessary. He had decided in his own mind that the causes of sedition were too much wine, too much keeping of company, and too much money.

He smashed the wine cups of the Palace, forbade drinking in public, punished drunkards by setting them in pits outside the city walls, made it unlawful for the nobles to give parties or to hold meetings in one another's houses, and established a complete system of espionage.

He further devised measures to relieve the people of the wealth that was so dangerous to them and to him. His object in so doing was not merely to curb their spirits; for he needed money to fit out and maintain an efficient standing army against the Mughals and to put all the defences on the road to Delhi in thorough order. The assessment on cultivated fields was raised to one half of the produce, and new taxes were levied on domestic animals. The lands, that had been given away as grants by former rulers, were resumed by the Sultān. In order that there might always be an abundance of supplies at cheap rates in the markets of Delhi, he directed that the dues on Crown lands should be paid in kind. Large granaries were erected for the storing of grain, the carriers were registered and compelled to settle in villages on the banks of the Jumna, the market rates were fixed, inspectors were appointed to see that all articles were sold according to the Government tariff, and woe to the

merchant who was detected in transgressing the official regulations.

By such measures as these Alā-ud-dīn succeeded in establishing internal order and tranquillity, while his soldiers were enabled to keep themselves and their families on the pay issued to them. As for the Mughals, 'the desire of coming into India was washed clean out of their breasts'; and the Sultān boasted that his Hindu subjects were reduced to such obedience that, at a word from him, 'they were ready to creep into their holes like mice.'

Alā-ud-dīn was an ambitious soldier. He knew nothing of books and cared little for the society of learned men. He did not trouble himself greatly about his own Sacred Law. Necessity was the one law he respected. Ruthless in winning his throne, he was ruthless in guarding it. His biographer, Barnī, represents him as saying:—"Men are heedless and disobey my commands. I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience, I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful. Whatever I think to be for the good of the State or suitable for the emergency, that I decree."

Upon Alā-ud-dīn's death a youthful son succeeded to the throne with the eunuch, Malik Kāfur, as his guardian and Regent of the kingdom. Malik Kāfur was trying to compass the death of the prince, when he himself was removed by an assassin. Mubārak Shāh, another son of the late Sultān, then became Regent and soon set aside his ward. Mubārak was a profligate youth of seventeen. He was infatuated with a vile favourite, a low-caste Hindu of Gujarāt, to whom he gave the name of Khusrū Khān. A carnival of pleasure and riot succeeded to the severe order of the late Sultān's reign. The new king soon proved himself as cruel as he was debauched. The revolt of Harapāla of Devagiri was suppressed in 1318, and the rebel was flayed alive, his skin being set up over the city gate. Worthy Muhammadan officers were insulted at the Court or put to death. The influence of Khusrū Khān, who had returned from a successful expedition to the south, was supreme. He filled the palace with his fellow caste men; and one night he murdered his master and commenced to

Mubarak Shah
and Khusrū
Khan

rule with the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn. Four months of horror and abomination for Muhammadan and Hindu alike followed. The royal harem was violated, the mosques were defiled, and all power seemed to have passed away into the hands of Khusrū's creatures and kinsmen. So fearful did the fate appear which fell upon the royal household, that the Muhammadan historian declared it to be a divine retribution for the crimes of Alā-ud-dīn. One man, however, was to be feared. He was that Tughlak, who had kept the frontier in many a battle against the Mughal. His hands were tied, until his son had escaped from the Court; and then he set his troops in motion for Delhi. All Khusrū's gold could not keep his army together; his soldiers deserted him in droves, and after a short combat the craven fled away to a garden. There he was found in hiding, and was dragged forth to his death. None of Alā-ud-dīn's stock being left, the nobles called Tughlak Khān to the throne with one voice. He had been the buckler of the kingdom against the Mughals, and had wrought a faithful work of judgement. There was none other so worthy as he to ascend the throne.

THE KARAUNAS OR TUGHLAK SHAHIS: A.D. 1320-1413.—

Tughlak was the founder of a dynasty, which is often called the Karauna or Half-Breed, because it was of mingled Turkī and Indian blood.

Public confidence quickly returned with the accession of the brave soldier from the north. The new king did all in his power to compensate and to show honour to the unfortunate ladies of the House of Alā-ud-dīn. His first military undertaking was to send his favourite son, Jūnān, to reduce Warangal. The prince had almost brought the Rāja to the point of surrender, when a panic arose in his army and it ran away. No letters had been received from Delhi for some days, and a malicious poet and others whispered that all was not well with the Sultān.* Tughlak reinforced his son, who took Bīdar and returned to the siege of Warangal. The fort was taken and the Telugu country was brought under Muhammadan administration. In 1324 the king went on an expedition to Bengal to

restore the ruler, who had been driven out by his brother. Tughlak was completely successful, but on his way back to Delhi he met with a tragic end. The roof of the pavilion, which had been erected for him by his son, fell upon him, as he sat at dinner, and crushed him to death. It was suspected that this was more than an accident."



RUINED WALLS OF, TUGHLAKABAD, DELHI

Jūnān now became king, with the title of Muhammad Tughlak. He was a prince who excelled in all the accomplishments of his age. He was well read in Persian poetry and philosophy and wrote an exquisite hand. He meant well by the people and devised many plans for their benefit; but he was headstrong and wanting in judgement and could not brook failure or opposition. He knew no way to win obedience save by savage punishments that alarmed and shocked even an age accustomed to cruelty. His very virtues, the love of learning and generosity, brought him into difficulty; for his lavish gifts to scholars

* The fort of Tughlakābād at Delhi was founded by Tughlak Khān, while his son, Muhammad, built another suburb, known as Jahān Pana.

and poets, together with his reckless expenditure on the army, emptied the Treasury.

His lack of money suggested his first experiment. A year or two after ascending the throne, he issued a copper currency to take the place of the gold and silver *tankas*. If he could have restricted the supply, all might have been well; the copper coins would have circulated at the face value put upon them by the Government. But it was impossible in those days to prevent illicit coinage, and soon every house became a mint. The copper coins were manufactured in such prodigious quantities that they became of no more worth than potsherds, and trade was completely paralyzed. At last the king gave an order to recall the currency and to pay for the copper coins brought back into the mint in gold and silver.

Another costly experiment was the selection of the more central Devagiri, henceforward to be called Daulatābād, as capital in place of Delhi (1336). The people were ordered to quit their old homes and to set out on the long forty days' journey to the Deccan. Delhi was turned into a solitude. The story is told that a blind man and a lame man, who were found lurking in their houses, were tortured to death by the imperious king. The Musalmāns never loved their new city. It lay in the land of the infidels. There they sickened and died and made their graves in exile, until the king repented him of his error and permitted the remnant to return.

Among his other wrong-headed ideas Muhammad Tughlak cherished the notion of conquering Persia and China. One large army perished of hunger in the passes, and a vast amount of money was wasted in idle preparations for another campaign.

His eternal lack of pence led the Sultān to raise the tax on land. He increased the cess in the Doab and collected the taxes with such rigour that the ryots forsook their fields. They burned their stacks, turned their cattle loose, and fled to the jungles. This only hardened the heart of the king against them. He ringed the peasants round and hunted them down, as if they had been wild beasts. Failure of

**Desolation
and
Rebellion**

rains completed the mischief which had been wrought by man, and the country round Delhi was converted into a desert. When harm had been done beyond repair, the king tried to entice the ryots back to their holdings. He remitted their taxes, sank wells, and offered loans to cultivators; but his good intentions were often thwarted and defeated by the corrupt practices of his officers.

It was little wonder that revolts were frequent. The king marched hither and thither, chastising and slaying his enemies; but the spirit of discontent was everywhere rife, and rebellion was suppressed in one quarter only to break out afresh in another. An unfortunate nephew, who had taken refuge with a Hindu Rāja in the south, was delivered up to Muhammad and was flayed alive, his cooked flesh being sent to his relatives. Such savagery defeated its own end, and the nobles became alarmed for their safety. A summons to the Court was regarded as equivalent to a death sentence. The Deccan broke away from the Sultān's grasp. At the new city of Vijayanagar a southern Hindu empire was gathering strength and wealth; while in 1347 Zafar Khān Hasan Gāngū shook off his allegiance to Delhi and founded the Muhammadan Bahmani* kingdom, making Kulbarga his capital. Still earlier Bengal, East and West, had thrown off all pretence of submission. The last five years of his reign were spent by the Sultān in Gujarāt and the Deccan in the vain attempt to restore his rule. At last he died of a fever on the banks of the Indus, while in pursuit of the rebel governor, Taghī, to whom the chief of Tatta had given sanctuary.

The Sultān's army was left in a perilous plight. The soldiers were far from home and were discouraged by the death of their king. As soon as they
Firuz Shah III: commenced their retreat, the Mughals swooped
 1351-1388 down upon the baggage train, and all was fear and confusion. It was necessary to elect a successor at once. The choice of the nobles fell upon Firūz Shāh, the cousin of Muhammad, now a man in middle life. He was unwilling to accept the honour and the danger, but was at length prevailed upon to do so. Having bowed

* Bahmanī, a corruption of Brāhmanī, so called after a Brāhman astrologer, Gāngū, who foretold the rise of Zafar Khān to greatness.

his head to the ground and prayed, "O Lord, the stability of kingdoms depends not upon man. Permanence of dominion rests upon Thy decrees. Oh God! Thou art my refuge and my strength," he received the crown from the hands of the Amirs. He was destined to give the land the rest it needed, and by his gentleness to heal the wounds inflicted by his cousin. At the moment, however, vigorous action was needed. With a king now at their head, the soldiers plucked up heart and beat off the pursuing Mughals. Fīrūz Shāh reached Delhi in safety, and was received with acclamation as the rightful sovereign. His long reign was marked by general peace and prosperity. He remitted all unlawful and excessive taxes, and publicly cancelled the bonds for the agricultural loans issued by his predecessor.

Fīrūz Shāh made no attempt to recover the Deccan, and waged only two wars of any importance. In 1353 and 1359 he marched against Bengal to compel the local ruler to do obeisance. The Bengal prince threw himself into his island fortress of Ikdāla; and on neither occasion did the Sultān proceed to the extremity of a final assault. A treaty was made, and the king withdrew. In 1361 Fīrūz took up the quarrel with Tatta, which Muhammad had been unable to settle. A large army was moved to the Indus and laid siege to the fortress of the Jām. Before it could be captured, famine had wasted the ranks of the Delhi forces, and they were compelled to retire into Gujarāt. The army lost its way in the salt marshes of the Rann of Kachh and was like to perish of hunger and thirst. It was extricated with great difficulty; and after refitting and reinforcing his troops, Fīrūz started again for Tatta. This time his soldiers found the fields covered with ripe standing crops, and it was the turn of the Jām to suffer the pangs of hunger. After holding out as long as his stores lasted, he capitulated and was led back in triumph to the capital.

Fīrūz Shāh was no great general: he shone rather in the arts of peace. He took great pleasure in the reclaiming of waste lands and the laying out of gardens. The income derived from such improvements was a consider-

able addition to his State revenues. The king also built several cities. Jaunpur—so called after his cousin—was founded, or rather extended, during his Bengal campaign. Fīrozābād, ten miles from Delhi, became a gay and fashionable suburb of the capital. The fortress and the city of Hisār Fīroza were provided with water by means of the canals from the Jumna and the Sutlej; and one of them, 'the old Jumna canal,' continues to do service to this day.

Fīrūz Shāh was a just and merciful ruler according to the best Muhammadan ideal. He would not allow in his buildings the use of pictures or other ornaments forbidden by the *Qurān*. He did not destroy the old Hindu temples, but he forbade the erection of new. He repressed with equal severity the licentious Hindu Śāktas and the Muhammadan heretical sects. He could neither understand nor follow a policy of religious neutrality and toleration. The *Jizya*, or poll-tax on infidels, was levied on all Hindus: even the Brāhmans, who had been exempt, were compelled to pay, and one of them, who was charged with setting up an idol for public worship in Delhi, was cast into a fire and burned before the palace gates.

Fīrūz Shāh owed much of the peace and prosperity of his reign to his Wazīr—a Hindu convert, named Makbūl Khān, who was honoured with the title of Khān-i-Jahān. His death in 1370 was a great grief to the Sultān. Fīrūz paid his military officers and ministers not directly out of the treasury, but by making grants of district revenues to them. His ardent admirer, the historian Barnī, says that no harm came of this; but without doubt the system tended to weaken the power of the central Government and to the oppression of the ryots. If it were true that "not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty" during the time of Fīrūz Shāh, the reason was that no rude hand was raised against the tree; for it is apparent that the vigour of the administration and military virtue had decayed. The contrast was great between the slow-moving host of Fīrūz Shāh with its luxurious camp appointments, and the mail-clad horsemen of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, who struck so hard and so swiftly at their foes.

The Sultān had kept a large establishment of slaves, who took a prominent part in the intrigues for the succe-



TAIMUR

**The Decline
after Firuz
Shah's Death**

sion at the end of his reign. The death of Firūz Shāh in 1388 was followed immediately by a contest among his sons and grandsons for the throne. Muhammad, a son, reigned for four years from 1390 to 1394, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmūd Shāh II, who exercised a feeble and fitful rule till he died in 1413. During part of his reign a rival, Nasrat Shāh, another grandson of Firūz, was set up as king; and the boy Mahmūd was at variance with his own Wazīr and chief supporter, Ikbāl Khān.

A kingdom so divided against itself offered an

**The Invasion
of Taimur**

easy prey to the invader. The Mughal Emperor, Taimūr, was eager to wage a holy war against

the infidels, and hesitated between China and Hindustān. His choice fell on India. Leaving Samarkand in March, 1398, he crossed the Indus at Attock, and met with no resistance from Mahmūd till he was under the walls of Delhi. Then the Sultān and Ikbāl Khān brought out their forces to oppose him. As in the case of other invaders, who had had no previous experience of Indian

warfare, the elephants filled Taimūr's men with fear. The Mughal restored confidence in his army by surrounding his camp with a ditch and rampart, and he prepared iron spikes to cast before the dreaded monsters. In the ensuing battle Mahmūd was defeated, and he fled. Taimūr entered the city and received the homage of the principal inhabitants. He consented to spare the capital the horrors of a sack, but a brawl having arisen between some of his soldiers and the citizens, a general pillage and massacre followed. For three days the Mughal troops were out of hand and took an enormous booty of jewels and slaves.

After a fortnight in Delhi Taimūr set out on his return march. On his way back he hunted out crowds of hapless Hindus in the valleys of the Himālayas, slaying a great number of them and capturing many thousand head of their cattle. Thus the two great objects of his raid were accomplished. "The first," he is made to say, "was to war with the infidels; and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to a reward in the life to come. The other was a worldly object—that the army of Islām might gain something by plundering the valuables and wealth of the infidels. Plunder in war is as lawful as their mothers' milk to Musalmāns who fight for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace."

The loss, however, to the Indian Muhammadans was almost as great as to the Hindus. When the 'Scourge of God' had come and gone, Nasrat Shāh took the opportunity of Mahmūd's absence to ascend the throne at Delhi. He was, however, promptly turned out by Ikbāl Khān, who himself reigned for the next five years. In 1405 he was slain in battle, and Mahmūd crept back to his capital and resumed his sway. He was now little more than the ruler of the district around Delhi, unable to control his own nobles, and in 1413 the line of the Tughlak Shāhis came to an inglorious end. The Delhi Empire had been completely broken up. In the short interval between the death of Firūz Shāh and that of his grandson, Jaunpur (1394), Gujarāt (1397), and Mālwa (1401) became independent kingdoms. More than a century was to pass before Bābar would found the Mughal dynasty and give to Delhi a greater renown and power than it had ever enjoyed before.

CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY KINGS OF DELHI

- 988 Sabuktigin defeats Jaipal at Lamghān.
- 999 MAHMUD succeeds to throne of Ghaznī.
- 1009 Defeat of Anandpāl.
- 1026 Sack of Somnāth.
- 1030-1040 Masūd reigns at Ghaznī.
- 1155 The Ghorī, Alā-ud-dīn, burns Ghaznī.
- 1173-1206 MUHAMMAD GHORĪ, rules at Ghaznī or reigns at Ghor.
- 1191 Defeat of Muhammad at Tarain.
- 1192 Victory of Muhammad at Tarain : death of Prithivīrāj.
- 1193 Capture of Kanauj.
- 1193-94 Muhammad Bakhtiyār subdues Bengal.
- 1206 AIBAK becomes king of Delhi : founds SLAVE dynasty.
- 1210 ALTAMSH succeeds to throne of Delhi.
- 1236-1240 Sultān Raziya reigns.
- 1241 Mughals sack Lahore.
- 1266-1287 BALBAN reigns at Delhi.
- 1287-1290 Kai-Kubād reigns at Delhi.
- 1290 Jalāl-ud-dīn (Fīrūz Shāh II) ascends the throne : founds KHALJI dynasty.
- 1294 Alā-ud-dīn surprises Devagiri.
- 1294 ALA-UD-DIN murders his uncle and ascends the throne.
- 1303 First sack of Chitor.
- 1307-1311 Malīk Kāfur's campaigns in the south.
- 1316 Mubārak Shāh ascends the throne.
- 1320 Khusrū Khān reigns for four months.
- 1320 TUGHLAK KHAN ascends the throne : founds TUGHLAK SHAHI Dynasty.
- 1321 Capture of Warangal.
- 1325 MUHAMMAD TUGHLAK ascends the throne.
- 1336 Immigration from Delhi to Devagiri.
- 1347 Zafar Khān founds Bahmanī Kingdom in the Deccan.
- 1351 FIRUZ SHAH III ascends the throne.
- 1388 Death of Fīrūz Shāh III, followed by disorders.
- 1390-94 Muhammad Shāh reigns.
- 1394 Mahmūd Shāh ascends the throne.
- 1398 Invasion of TAIMUR : sack of Delhi.
- 1413 Death of Mahmūd Shāh.

N.B.—There are many minor discrepancies in the dates assigned to events by the Muhammadan historians.

CHAPTER XI

The Interval before the Mughal Empire

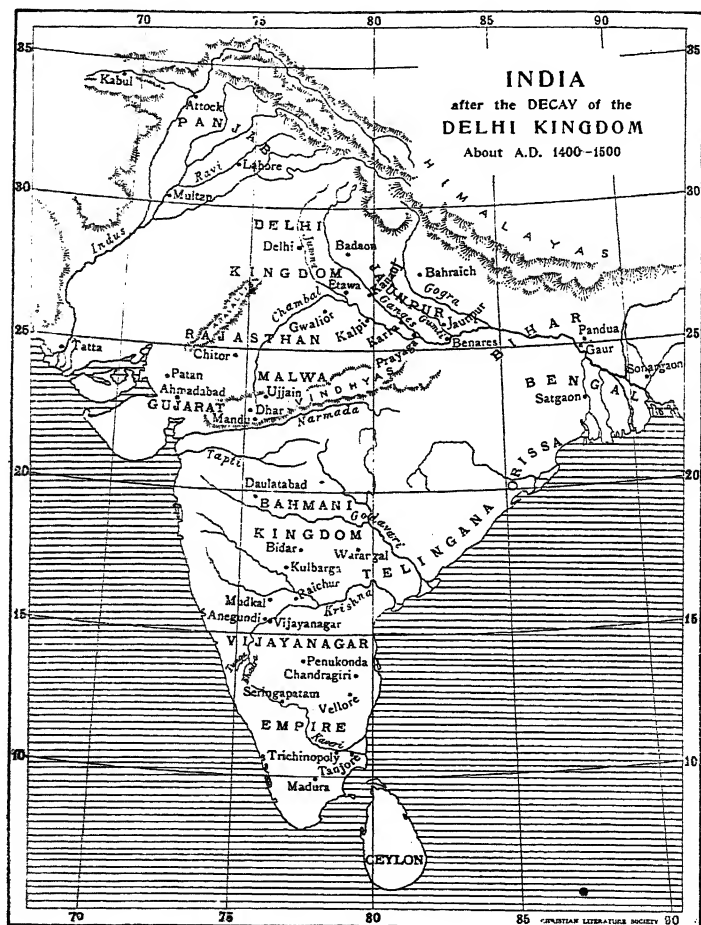
A.D. 1413-1526

With the decline of the Delhi kingdom on the death of Firūz Shāh there ceased to be any power in India, which might claim with reason to be paramount. The interval of time between the fall of the first and the rise of the second Delhi Empire is occupied with the history of a number of minor Hindu and Muhammadan States, contending with one another on an equal footing. We shall deal briefly in order with the most important of these.

THE KINGDOM OF DELHI.—The Lodī, Daulat Khān, carried on the government for a year after Mahmūd's death. Then in 1414 Khizr Khān, the Governor of Mūltān, who was reputed to be a Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, took possession of the impoverished kingdom of Delhi. He was succeeded by three others of the line. Their title was undisputed only to the district around the capital; and the history of their several reigns is little more than a record of marchings and counter-marchings in the endeavour to compel the allegiance of rebellious barons and to collect the revenues of the State. Etāwa, Mewāt, Gwālīor and Rohilkhand broke away from their control. The fourth Sayyid king, Ālam Shāh, had neither the energy nor the courage to recover what had been lost. He submitted to be deposed by one of his nobles, Bahlol Khān, to whom the Panjāb had been given as a fief, and retired to live at his ease in the pleasant country of Badāon.

Bahlol Khān founded another short-lived dynasty, known as the Lodī, from the Afghān clan to which Bahlol belonged. He was a man of some ability and prowess in war. In 1477, he defeated the Sharkī king of Jaunpur and annexed his territory. His son, Sikandar, continued his success and

brought back Gwālīor and Bihār to their allegiance to Delhi. The third of the line, Ibrāhīm, gave great offence



to his proud and turbulent Afghān nobles by his lordly airs; and, when he commenced to put some of them to

death, Daulat Khān, the governor of the Panjāb, invited the Mughal, Bābar, to step in and redress their grievances. The battle of Pānīpat in 1526 extinguished Lodī rule and ushered in a new era in India.

OTHER MUHAMMADAN KINGDOMS—We must now trace in outline the history of those States, which were off-shoots



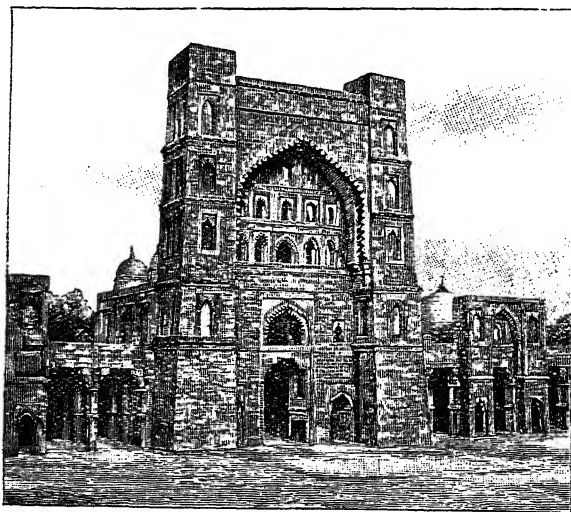
RUINED GATEWAY AT GAUR

from the first Delhi Empire. The fate of them all was to be absorbed as provinces in the second or Mughal Empire of Delhi.

The Kingdom of Bengal was founded, as we have seen already, by the adventurer, Muhammad Bakhtiyār, at the close of the twelfth century. Its loyalty to Delhi was fitful; for distance from the capital and the intervening swamps made it difficult for the Delhi Sultāns to reach an insubordinate governor and to maintain their hold upon the province. Hence Bengal really became independent at an early date. There were two principalities—an eastern with its capital at Sonārgaon near Dacca, and a western

**Kings of
Bengal :
1194-1576**

with its capital at Satgaon close to Hūgli. The two were united by Ilyās Shāh in 1352, and the capital was now Panduā or Firozābād, as it was named by Fīrūz Shāh III during his Bengal campaign. After 1446 Lakhnautī, or Gaur, which had been for a long time one of the chief cities of Bengal and had previously served as a capital, became again the head of the kingdom. The kings were of various races—Khaljis, Turkis, Bengālīs, Abyssinians, and last of all Afghāns—of whom by far the greatest was that Sher Shāh, who drove Humāyūn out of India and seated himself on the throne of Delhi.



MOSQUE AT JAUNPUR

We have noted already that a new city was founded at Jaunpur by Fīrūz Shāh III and was so named after his cousin and predecessor, Jūnān (Muhammad Tughlak). After his death a eunuch, Khwāja-i-Jahān, who had been sent to the province as governor, declared his independence; and was the first of the six Sharkī Malikis, or 'Kings of the East.'

**Sharki Kings
of Jaunpur :
1394-1477**

He brought the adjacent territories of Kanauj, Oudh, Bahraich, Bihār, and Karra under his sway. The Jaunpur kingdom by its intermediate position cut off the tribute that had been sent to Delhi from Bengal and Orissa.

The Sharkīs adorned their capital with many beautiful buildings, surpassed only by the later works of the Mughal emperors. Two of the mosques still standing in Jaunpur are among the glories of Muhammadan architecture. Husain, the last of the dynasty, was overthrown by Sultān Bahlol in 1477; and a few years later Jaunpur was laid in ruins by the son of the victor.

The Muhammadan kingdom of Mālwa took its origin from Dilāwar Khān, a Ghorī noble, to whom the fief of Dhār had been granted. Under the later Kings of Mālwa: Kings Māndū, lying high upon a mountain plateau, became the capital. It is now the haunt of beasts of prey, but enough remains of its royal buildings to show that once it must have been a magnificent city, delightfully placed amid romantic scenery. As might be expected from its situation, Mālwa was generally at war, either with Gujarāt on the west, or with Delhi and Jaunpur on the north and east: other formidable foes, the Rājput princes, lay close at hand.

There was a succession of three Ghorī kings, but in 1436 the minister, Mahmūd—a Khaljī, murdered his lord and usurped the throne. He was the ablest of the Mālwa rulers and wrested the fortress of Kālpī from the Jaunpur king. He seems, however, to have suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Rāṇa Kumbha, whose success is recorded in one of the inscriptions found within the lofty Tower of Fame (*kīrtistambha*), still standing at Chitor.*

The last Khaljī king was really a puppet in the hands of his Rājput Wazīr—Medinī Rao. The aid of Gujarāt was called in to get rid of the Rājputs with a result that might have been foreseen. In 1530 Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt annexed Mālwa to his dominions. The supremacy of Gujarāt was short-lived; for Humāyūn turned out Bahādur Shāh, and nominees of the Delhi king, more or less independent of him, ruled for a few troubled years,

* Rājput and Muhammadan accounts of this event by no means agree.

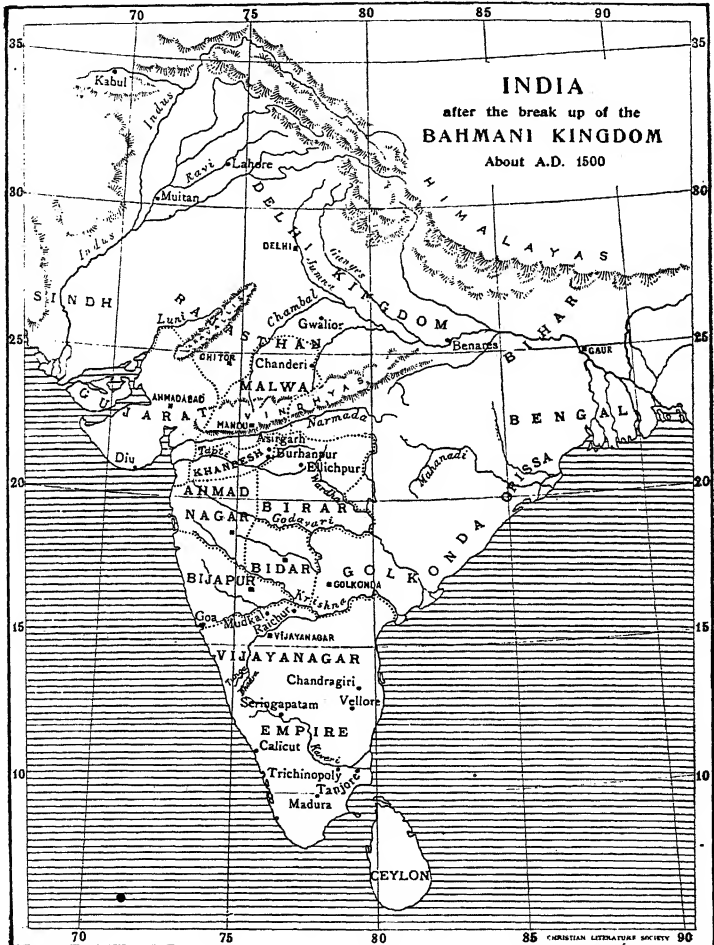
till the Mughal Empire was securely established and Akbar added Mālwa to his territories.

Zafar Khān was sent to Gujarāt in 1391 to suppress a revolt: he succeeded, but a few years later set himself up as king, taking the title of Muzaffar Shāh. His grandson, Ahmad, was the founder of Ahmadābād, which has remained the principal city of Gujarāt to this day. In the wars with Mālwa success generally lay with the western kingdom; and, beside being powerful on land, the Gujarāt princes maintained a fleet at sea. They had the harbour of Bombay in their keeping and came into conflict with the Portuguese. In 1508 the combined fleets of the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt and the Gujarāt king won a victory over the young Almeida; but they were defeated by his father in the following year. In 1510 the reigning prince offered Diu to the Portuguese but not till twenty-five years later were they able to erect a fort upon the site. Gujarāt went the way of Mālwa in 1572 when it submitted to Akbar, and a few years afterwards was incorporated in the Mughal Empire.

The history of the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan commences at an earlier date. The nobles of the south, unable to bear any longer the caprices and cruelty of Muhammad Tughlak, threw off their allegiance to him and accepted Hasan Gāngū as their sovereign at Devagiri in 1347. The Bahmanī dynasty, which he founded, may be regarded as the true successor to the older Chālukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas. The capital of the Bahmanī kings was Kulbarga, and at the height of their power their rule extended from sea to sea across the Deccan, though the Telugu region on the coast was held insecurely. The kings of Warangal and Orissa were rivals; but the power of the former seems to have been destroyed finally about 1422, when his fort was captured and the Rāja was slain.

The chief adversary, however, of the Muhammadans in the Deccan was the new Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, which lay to the south of them. The story of this long contest belongs more properly to the history of

Vijayanagar, which will be related hereafter. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Bahmani kingdom

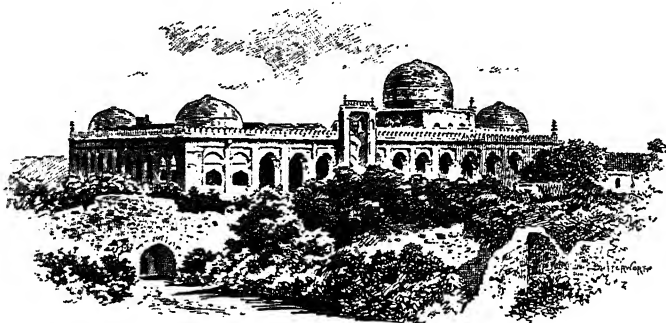


began to decline. In succession two kings had ascended the throne in their minority; but the minister, Mahmūd

Gāwan, carried on the civil administration successfully and also won several victories over the Rāja of Orissa. A charge was trumped up against him by his enemies, and he was put to death in 1481. When his hand was removed, the kingdom fell asunder. It had been divided recently into four provinces, and the governors of these, one after another, renounced their allegiance. The last Bahmanī princes resided at Bīdar, exercising a nominal rule for some years, until the line became extinct.

The Bahmanī kingdom split up into five separate principalities. These were the kingdom of Bijāpur under the Ādil Shāhs (1490-1686), the kingdom of Golkonda under the Kutb Shāhs (1512-1687), the kingdom of Ahmadnagar under the Nizām Shāhs (1490-1599), and the two lesser States of Bīdar under the Barīd Shāhs (1492-1609), and of Birār

**The Five
Deccan
Principalities**



THE GREAT MOSQUE, KULBARGA

under the Imād Shāhs (1485-1572). Between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur there was a long-enduring and bitter feud. The quarrel of the Bahmanī kings with Vijayanagar was taken up by Bijāpur as its nearest neighbour. This city is memorable too for its association with Firishta, the best known of the Muhammadan historians of India. He resided for some time at the Court of the Ādil Shāhs towards the close of the sixteenth century and has supplied much material for the mediæval history of the Deccan. The kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golkonda were not subdued

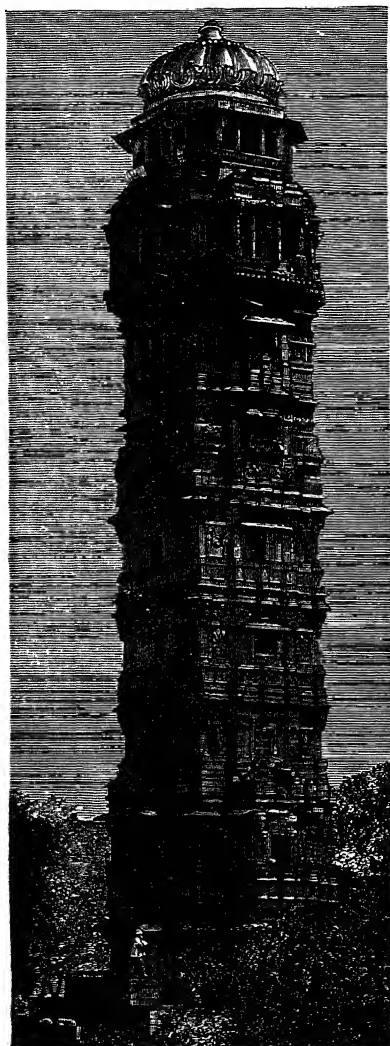
until the time of Aurangzib, when the Mughal Empire was already past its prime.

THE HINDU KINGDOMS.—As was inevitable, the Muhammadan power was much weakened by these divisions, and the Hindu Rājas took the opportunity to assert themselves again. We can mention here only two of the Hindu kingdoms which come into prominence at this time.

The Guhila princes of Mewār (Mevād) had been reigning for many generations before this period commences. They trace back their line into the eighth century. The rock fortress of Chitor

**The Kingdom
of Chitor :
from about 750**

was the seat of their power, and it had become the object of a passionate national devotion. Chitor, according to Rājput tradition, has been sacked three and a half times. The 'half' was an early attempt of Alā-ud-dīn to capture the stronghold, which failed, though the defenders suffered heavy losses. The first sack took place in 1303, when Alā-ud-dīn renewed the siege and achieved a complete success. When further resistance was seen to be hopeless, the women performed the dreadful rite of *Jauhar* and perished in the flames, while their sons and husbands flung open the gates and rushed, sword in hand, upon the ranks of the expectant foe. The surviving prince of the royal stock took refuge in a remote fastness of the Arāvalli hills; but it was not long before his successor regained the ancestral capital by a stratagem and ousted the nominee of Delhi. Chitor now entered upon a period of great prosperity. One of the most famous of its kings was Kumbha (circa 1438-1483), who inflicted a decisive defeat on the kings of Mālwa and Gujarāt, of which mention has already been made. One of his wives, Mirā Bai, is famous for her devotion to the god Kṛishṇa, and many tales are told of her surpassing love. A greater king, however, was Sangrāmasimha Singram Singh, better known as the Rāna Sanga of the Muhammadan historians. The bards relate how that eighty thousand horse mustered to his banner—a golden sun upon a crimson field; while seven Rājas and many lesser princes owned him as their feudal lord and followed in his train. It was he who gathered all



GREAT TOWER OF KUMBHA, CHITOR

his chivalry to meet the Mughal conqueror, and after a desperate fight was overthrown by Bābar in the battle of Kanvāha in 1527. Rāṇa Sanga fled wounded from the field, and did not live long after this disaster. During the reign of his son Chitor was sacked a second time by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt in 1535. The third and final catastrophe was reserved for the reign of Akbar and the year 1567. From that time Chitor ceased to be the royal seat and became an abode for the bats and owls and wild beasts of the hills. The spirit of the rulers, however, was not quenched. A new capital was built at Udaipur, and there is still a Rāja upon the throne, who makes it his boast that his ancestors never stooped to mix their blood with the Mughals.

The Guhila Rājputs were a nation of cavaliers keeping the mountains. Vijyanagar was a typical

Hindu kingdom of the plains, embracing a vast extent of territory and formidable by sheer weight of wealth and population. The kingdom seems to have been founded about the year 1335 by two brothers, Harihara (Hukka) and Bukka, who had taken service with the Rāja of Ānegundi—a fortress on the north bank of the Tungabhadra. The Rāja was slain by Muhammad Tughlak; and when the Muhammadan deputy found it impossible to govern the country, the minister of the late king was appointed in his stead.

**The Empire of
Vijayanagar :
about 1335-
1565**

Harihara had the foresight and wisdom to cross over to the other side of the river and build a new city among the rocks on its southern bank. The site was well adapted for defence; for the river ran broad and deep on the north, there were impenetrable jungles to the east, and the masses of rock were linked together with lines of ramparts and crowned with redoubts, till the city was protected by a seven-fold girdle of walls. Within the large area thus enclosed, houses were raised, gardens of fruit trees and fields were laid out in the valleys and level spaces, and an abundant supply of water was brought in by aqueducts from the river. The city was admirably placed, too, for commerce. It soon became a thriving emporium for the trade between the Deccan and the ports of the west coast. The streets were well-nigh impassable with strings of laden pack bullocks, and the bazaars hoarded the velvets and broad-cloth of the west along with the fine cottons and precious stones of the east and all that a wealthy and luxurious Hindu Court might require.

The kingdom expanded rapidly, until it embraced the whole of southern India, and Viceroys of Vijayanagar were installed at Madura, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Seringapatam, Penukonda, and in cities of the Telugu and Malayālam coasts.

Harihara seems to have reigned but a few years and to have been succeeded by his brother, Bukka. Two notable names are connected with these early days of the Empire. Mādhavāchārya, the author of the *Sarvadarśana Sangraha*, is said to have been the minister of

Harihara; while his brother, Sāyaṇāchārya, who wrote the great commentary on the *Vedas*, appears to have been minister to another prince of the family.

Vijayanagar was often at war with the Muhammadans north of the river, the bone of contention being the Raichūr Doab—a triangle of fertile country lying between the rivers, Kṛishṇā and Tungabhadra. It contained the fortresses of Mudkal and Raichūr, which witnessed many a combat beneath their walls. The first war of which we have an account took place in the reign of Bukka in the year 1366. It is said that the Bahmanī king, being delighted with the singing of a band of musicians at a wine party, gave them in payment a draft on the Vijayanagar treasury. When it was presented at the Hindu capital, the Rāja caused the bearer to be mounted on an ass and paraded ignominiously through the streets. War was now inevitable, and the Rāja did not wait to be attacked at home. Crossing the Tungabhadra he took Mudkal, and massacred the inhabitants. When Muhammad Shāh heard the news, he swore not to sheathe his sword again, until he had slain a hundred thousand of the infidels. The army of Vijayanagar fell back in disorder on his approach, but it was overtaken and defeated, and the capital was invested. Muhammad was unable to penetrate the defences of the city. He, therefore, drew out the Rāja by a feigned retirement, and inflicted a second defeat on him. As the Rāja still held out behind his walls, the Sultān laid waste the surrounding country destroying, according to Firishta, half a million of people. Peace was arranged at last, and a compact was made—not always observed afterwards—that in any future wars the combatants would give quarter to prisoners and do no harm to women or children. This campaign was a type of many others. The Rājas of Vijayanagar were never able to win a permanent success in their struggles with the Bahmanī kings. They set down their failure to the stronger horses and superior archery of the Musalmāns, which out-matched the greater wealth of the Hindu kingdom and its larger armies.

About the time that the Bahmanī kingdom broke up, there was a change of dynasty at Vijayanagar; Nara-

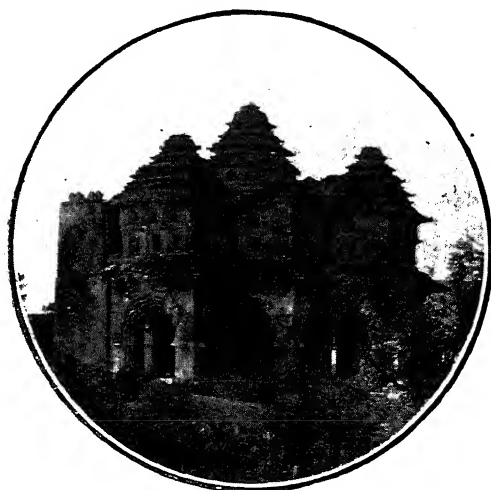
simha, a powerful feudatory, seems to have usurped the throne. The greatest monarch of the second dynasty was Kṛishṇa Deva Rāya (1509-1530). The time had now come for Vijayanagar to recoup itself for the many losses it had suffered. Kṛishṇa Deva Rāya's great achievement was the rout of the Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, and the taking of Raichūr and Mudkal. These towns remained for seventeen years in the possession of Vijayanagar, and then were recovered by the Ādil Shāh in the reign of Kṛishṇa Deva Rāya's weak successor.

Towards the end the power seems to have passed wholly into the hands of the minister, Rāma Rāya, and his brothers, Tirumala and Venkaṭādri. Quarrels among the Musalmāns gave Vijayanagar the opportunity of revenge, for which it had waited long. The Ādil Shāh did not scruple to call in the Hindu State as an ally in his struggle with his hated rival of Ahmadnagar. Rāma Rāya's army ravaged the territories of the Nizām Shāh right up to the walls of his capital; but the arrogance of the Hindu leader and the insults and outrages perpetrated by his troops excited the alarm and the resentment of the Musalmāns.

They saw their common danger, and under the leadership of Bijāpur a league of the faithful was formed, consisting of the forces of the four States of Bijāpur, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar, and Bīdar. The decisive battle has been given the name of Tālikoṭa—a place to the north of the Kṛishṇā, but it seems really to have been fought several miles to the south of the river. The aged Rāma Rāya had raised an enormous levy of troops—a million of men, some of the accounts say; while the allied Sultāns brought nearly half that number into the field. At the first onset the Muhammadan wings were driven in, but their guns in the centre had been loaded with copper coins and opened so destructive a fire that soon many hundred Hindus were stretched dead before them. An infuriated elephant, bursting through the ranks, caused Rāma Rāya's attendants to let fall the palanquin, in which he was being carried. He was taken prisoner and borne

**Battle of
Talikota :
1565**

off to the Nizām Shāh, who at once ordered his head to be struck from his body and carried before the advancing troops, the Sultān exclaiming fiercely—'Now I am avenged of thee! Let God do what he will to me.' The Hindu host melted away in a panic. Three days later the Muhammadans reached the capital, and for five months plundered and burnt and pulled down. Vijayanagar never raised its head again. Tirumala, the sole survivor of the three brothers, fled south to Penukonda with the Rāja. Afterwards he retired to Chandragiri, where he put the puppet king out of the way and began to rule in



COUNCIL HALL, VIJAYANAGAR

his own name. The dynasty lingered on in obscurity, and is represented to-day by the Rāja of Ānegundi, who holds a *jāgīr* under the Nizām. It was from a chieftain who was a feudatory of the Rāja of Chandragiri, that the English received the grant of Madras in 1639.

The fall of Vijayanagar was fraught with misfortune to the Portuguese at Goa. They had generally been on friendly terms with the Hindu Rājas, who took most of the horses they imported; while the trade in cloth and pearls brought money both to the public treasury and to the private purses of the merchants. When this ceased, the wharves at Goa stood empty and idle, and the Customs House lost its chief source of revenue.

The political system of the Vijayanagar kingdom was of the usual type. The principal officers were assigned large tracts of territory, which they ruled virtually as sovereigns. They rendered no account to the Rāja of the revenues derived from their districts; but they were bound to pay him a fixed annual tribute and to maintain a military establishment of elephants, horse, and foot. The armies of the Empire consisted chiefly of the local troops furnished by these feudatories.

The territories of the Empire were variously disposed of on its dissolution. The Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golkonda annexed the districts on their southern borders. The Rājas of Mysore greatly extended their dominion, moving their capital to Seringapatam in 1610; while at Tanjore, Vellore, and elsewhere in the south Viceroys became independent monarchs, and held sway until Śivājī and the Marāthas again established something like a suzerainty over the south.

We must remember that towards the close of this interval of India's waiting for a new Lord Paramount the first European settlements were founded on the coast. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in May, 1498, and Goa was captured by the Portuguese in 1510.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE INTERVAL BEFORE THE MUGHALS.

- 1340 (circa) The brothers Mādhavāchārya and Sāyanāchārya flourish.
- 1347 Hasan Gāngū founds Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan.
- 1352 Ilyās Shāh unites the two Bengal principalities.
- 1394 Khwāja-i-Jahān founds Sharkī dynasty of Jaunpur.
- 1397 Muzaffar Shāh founds kingdom of Gujarāt.
- 1401 Dilāwar Khān founds Ghorī dynasty of Mālwa.
- 1414 Khizr Khān ascends the throne of Delhi, founds SAYYID dynasty.
- 1422 The Warangal kingdom extinguished.
- 1436 Mahmūd usurps the throne of Māndū, founds Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa.
- 1438 (circa) Kumbha ascends the throne of Chitor.
- 1451 Bahlol Khan ascends the throne of Delhi, founds the LODI dynasty.
- 1477 Bahlol annexes Jaunpur.
- 1481 Mahmud Gawan, Bahmanī Wazir, is executed.
- 1490-1512 Rise of the Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, Golkonda, Bīdar and Birār kingdoms.
- 1498 Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut.
- 1509-1530 Krishna Deva Rāya reigns at Vijayanagar.
- 1509-1527 Rāna Sanga reigns at Chitor.
- 1510 The Portuguese capture Goa.
- 1526 BABAR *wins the battle of PANIPAT*, founds MUGHAL dynasty.
- 1527 Rajputs are defeated at Kanvāha.
- 1530 Bahādur Shāh annexes Mālwa.
- 1535 Second Sack of Chitor.
- 1565 Battle of Tālikota : Vijayanagar Empire destroyed.

CHAPTER XII

The Mughal Empire: Babar to Aurangzib

A.D. 1526-1707

The most brilliant chapter in the story of Delhi has yet to be written. It opens with the advent of Bābar, who came to India on the solicitation of Alā-ud-dīn, the uncle of Ibrāhīm Lodī, and Daulat Khān, the Governor of the Panjāb.

BABAR: A.D. 1526-1530.—Bābar's invasion of India was only the last exploit in a long career of adventure. In his youth he became king of Farghāna in the land of the Oxus; and, mindful of his descent from the great Mughal, he made more than one attempt to seat himself on Taimūr's throne at Samarkand. He was foiled twice, and wandered for some time a fugitive upon the mountains, taking shelter in the shepherds' huts. At length he obtained possession of the kingdom of Kābul, which still belonged to the House of Taimūr; and from thence, with an army of about ten thousand horsemen, he accepted the call to remove the Lodī tyrant and settle the affairs of Delhi.

Bābar was a soldier of great bodily strength and daring. He tells us in the *Memoirs* written by himself, which are still the best account we have of his life, that he swam across all the rivers he met with in India. He rode immense distances at a stretch, and once ran round the battlements of the fort at Agra with a man tucked under each arm, leaping the embrasures as he came to them. But he was also an accomplished man of letters, proficient in the Persian and Turkish languages, and able to turn a neat verse or to appreciate a subtle philosophical argument.

The decisive battle was fought in April, 1526, at Pānīpat. Bābar protected his army, which was much inferior in numbers, against any assault of the enemy

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by surrounding it with waggons chained together and with a hedge and ditch. When he came forth and joined battle, the host of Ibrāhīm with all its elephants proved no match for the hardier troops of the Mughal. The Sultān was slain on the field, and

Battle of Panipat



BABAR

By kind permission of the India Office

Delhi fell at once the into hands of the victor. Many of Bābar's captains would have been content to return with their booty: they had no liking for the heat and monotony of the Indian plains. But Bābar's decision was taken to remain, and to hold and rule what he had won with his sword.

There were still formidable foes to overcome.

Other Wars

The Rājputs had mustered a great array under Rāṇa Sanga of Chitor. Eighty thousand horsemen had gathered to his standard, and were marching upon Agra. Bābar moved out to meet them and pitched his camp at Sīkrī, afterwards known as Fathpur Sīkrī in memory of

his victory. A division, sent on in advance, was routed with heavy loss by the Rājputs. In this crisis Bābar broke his wine cups, vowing to drink no more, and addressed a rousing appeal to his dejected soldiers. Taking advantage of the fresh courage he had inspired, he left his

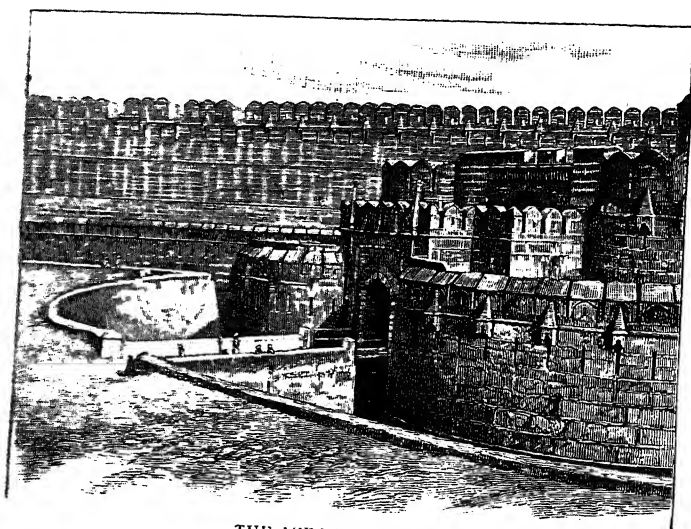
entrenchments and advanced boldly to meet the enemy. The battle was fought in March, 1527, at Kanvāha. The issue hung long in doubt, till Bābar sent out his flanking parties of horse, and the Rājputs, hemmed in on all sides, lost hope and gave way. The Rāṇa Sanga was severely wounded, but escaped from the field. Chanderī, the stronghold of Medinī Rao, the minister of Mālwa and one of the allies, was then taken by storm and the whole of the garrison put to the sword. The Rājput opposition to the new master of India was crushed by these disasters.

In the east, however, the country up to the Bay of Bengal was in the hands of Afghān nobles, who rallied round Mahmūd Lodī, the brother of the late Sultān. The prince Humāyūn took Jaunpur, and Bābar scattered the following of Mahmūd in 1528. Again in the next year he inflicted a heavy defeat on the Bengal army on the banks of the Gogra river.

Bābar could now rest from warfare, and he spent a year in settling the territories which he had annexed. He made Agra his capital, and adorned it with terraced rose-gardens, reminding him of the pleasantness of those cooler climes, which he had forsaken for an Empire. He died at the early age of forty-eight in December, 1530.

HUMAYUN: A.D. 1530-1556—Bābar's handsome and amiable son, Humāyūn, succeeded to the throne of Delhi, while his brother Kāmrān held Kābul, nominally owning allegiance to Humāyūn, but really independent. The Afghāns in the east were not yet crushed, but in 1531 Mahmūd was again defeated near Lucknow, and Sher Khān—of whom we shall hear again—submitted to Humāyūn at the fortress of Chunār. The king was then called away to Mālwa, which his father had not found time to annex. The ambitious and able Bahādur Shāh, Sultān of Gujarāt, after subduing Mālwa, had undertaken the conquest of Rājputāna and was laying siege to Chitor. Humāyūn was summoned by the Rājputs to their aid; but he forbore to interfere in the quarrel till Bahādur Shāh had taken and sacked the capital. This was the second sack of Chitor. Fortunately for Humāyūn, Bahādur Shāh was persuaded by his artillery officer, Rūmī Khān,

to entrench himself in front of his adversary instead of attacking him at once. The two Muslim armies lay facing each other, till famine wasted the ranks of Gujarāt and the Sultān fled away secretly. He was hunted from place to place by Humāyūn, and with difficulty eluded the pursuit, until he found refuge at last with the Portuguese at Diu. Humāyūn left Askarī, his brother, in charge of Mālwa; but the prince spent most of his time in revelry, and almost as soon as Humāyūn's back was turned, Bahādur



THE AGRA FORT GATE

Shāh recovered Gujarāt, though he was killed in a brawl with the Portuguese in 1537. The province of Mālwa was taken possession of by one of his officers, Mallū Khān, who ascended the throne with the title of Kādir Shāh.

Meanwhile in Bengal the clever and industrious Sher Khān was adding daily to his power. He had first proved his ability in the administration of his father's *jāgir*; then he had become prime minister to the Afghān ruler of Bihār, ending up with taking possession of his master's kingdom.

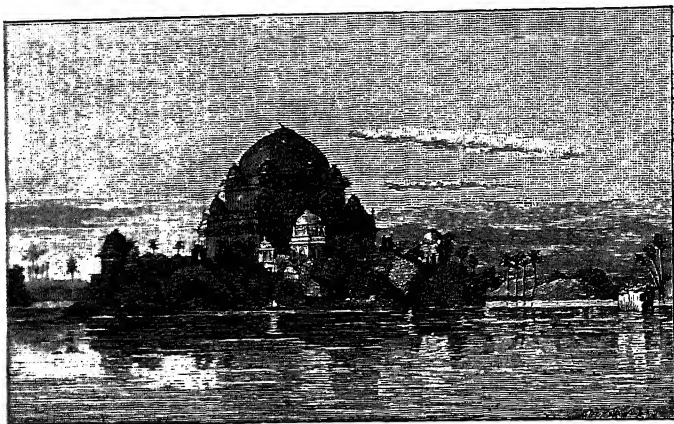
**The Contest
with
Sher Khan**

By marrying one widow he had gained the commanding fortress of Chunār, and with the wealth of another he had fitted out an army to conquer Bengal.

It was high time that Humāyūn turned his attention to this rival. Sher Khān was engaged at the moment in laying siege to Gaur, which he was permitted to take, while Humāyūn foolishly halted to reduce the fortress of Chunār. Sher Khān promptly removed all the treasure from the city to the stronghold of Rohtās, and offered no opposition to Humāyūn's advance into Bengal. When the Sultān reached the capital, he found it empty and abandoned; and he wasted several valuable months there before giving the order for retreat. At Agra one of his faithless brothers, Hindāl, had taken the opportunity of Humāyūn's long absence and the dearth of news from Bengal to proclaim himself Emperor. Kāmrān, who came down from Kābul, reduced the usurper to his proper rank and condition; but the two, after making an idle show of marching out to the rescue, remained quiet, awaiting the issue of the struggle. Humāyūn continued his retirement along the Ganges as far as Chaunsā, near Baksar (Buxar), where the way was blocked by Sher Khān. The Afghān and Mughal armies lay watching each other for some weeks, until negotiations were opened. While these were in progress and when terms had almost been concluded, the Afghāns made a treacherous night attack, and Humāyūn's army was routed. The Emperor himself owed his life to a water-carrier, who floated him across the river on his bullock-skin. Humāyūn reached the capital in safety and succeeded in raising another army, which encountered Sher Khān near Kanauj in May, 1540. The battle, known as the Battle of the Ganges, was lost almost before a blow was struck. Humāyūn's men turned tail at once and the king was again a fugitive. He reached the deserts of Sindh with a few faithful attendants only, and sought sanctuary among the Rājput chieftains and the Muslim governors of that region. Sometimes hospitality was given grudgingly, and sometimes it was denied. In this distressful time the son was born to Humāyūn at Amarkoṭ, who was afterwards to become the Emperor Akbar, the most illustrious of the Mughal dynasty. Finally Humāyūn

escaped to Persia, where the Shāh—on condition of his turning Shīa—lent him aid in his struggle with his unnatural brothers, so that he was enabled to take Kanda-hār, and afterwards Kābul in 1547.

SHER KHAN AND THE SUR DYNASTY: A.D. 1540-1555.—By his second victory over Humāyūn Sher Khān had deprived the Mughal of his dominion, and for fifteen years he and his descendants were the Lords Paramount of northern India. The character and conduct of Sher Khān have been the subject of much discussion. By the Afghān historian,



TOMB OF SHER KHAN AT SASIRAM

Abbās Khān, he has been extolled as a pattern of kingly wisdom, justice, and courage; by others he has been denounced as treacherous and cruel, accomplished only in intrigue and villainy. The truth lies between the two extremes. Sher Khān had to scheme and fight for all he owned—first of all, for the possession of his father's *jāgīr*, which had been given unjustly to the son of a favourite slave-girl, and then for the territory of Bihār. While the struggle between the Mughals and Mahmūd Lodi was still undecided, Sher Khān played a double part. He deserted the Afghān chieftain at a critical moment

in the battle of Lucknow, and did not fail to remind the Mughals of his services to them, until he felt strong enough to throw off all disguise and do battle openly on his own behalf. But no ordinary ability and resolution were needed to overcome so many disadvantages and difficulties. When Sher Khān became the recognised leader of the party of Afghān nobles, he was never tired of telling them, that the Mughals owed their success—not to superior courage or strength—but to the jealousy and disunion among the Afghāns. He had the wisdom and the firmness, which made even these turbulent and factious chieftains look up to him as their master and leader, and he held them together in the bond of a common cause.

Sher Khān was a diligent and systematic administrator. He was regular and punctual in his despatch of public business. He had learned quite early

Sher Khan's Administration that the prosperity of an Indian kingdom depends upon the security and welfare of the ryots. On his father's *jāgīr* he had fixed the tax to be paid on the land, and had sternly warned the collectors against exacting more than their due. These principles he afterwards carried out in the Empire. He would not suffer his armies on the march to damage the growing crops; he caused a survey to be made of cultivated lands and limited the Government's share to about one-fourth of the produce; and he was always ready to examine into complaints against revenue officials. Sher Khān was a builder of fortresses and cities, and he made several new roads, one of which ran from Bengal to the north-west frontier.

The most blameworthy acts of Sher Khān were his breaches of faith. It was by a broken pledge that he took the fortress of Rohtās from its Hindu Rāja, and his massacre of the Rājput garrison of Raisin, after giving a promise of safe conduct—although sanctioned by his fanatical Mullās—is an indelible blot upon his character. But in an age and a society, in which treachery was common, Sher Khān appears no worse than many another.

Sher Khān entered on a campaign against the Rājputs, and was killed in 1545 after a brief spell of five

years of power. While laying siege to Kālanjar, he was fatally injured by an explosion of a magazine of rockets or bombs within his lines, and was carried dreadfully burnt and mangled to his tent, where he expired just after the news was brought to him that the fort had been taken. He left none of his stock worthy to carry on his rule. Islām Shāh, a son, reigned for about nine years, and proved himself to be a suspicious tyrant, who was able, however, to maintain a measure of order and unity in his kingdom. After his death in 1554 the Pathāns cast the advice of Sher Khān to the winds and began to quarrel and kill one another to their hearts' content. Mubārīz Khān, a nephew of Sher Khān, murdered Islām Shāh's son and ascended the throne. He took the title of Ādil Shāh, but was nicknamed Adalī, 'the foolish.' His cruelty and incompetence soon roused rivals and enemies. Ibrāhīm and Sikandar Sūr, both of them related to Sher Khān, fought a battle for the throne of Delhi, which ended in Ibrāhīm's defeat and retirement to the east. There were thus three Pathān princes ruling at one time—Ādil Shāh in Bengal, Sikandar at Delhi, and Ibrāhīm in the Sambhal district. Ādil Shāh left his Hindu Wazīr to fight his battles and manage his affairs. This minister went by the name of Himū, and was commonly reported to have once been a petty shop-keeper.*

The time had now come for Humāyūn to strike another blow for his lost throne, and he set out from Kābul for Delhi. Sikandar was encountered and defeated at Sirhind in 1555, and once more the Mughal found himself in possession of an Indian Empire. He did not live to enjoy his good fortune long: for about six months later he fell from the terrace of his palace library and was so injured that he died a day or two afterwards.

AKBAR: A.D. 1556-1605.—Akbar was a boy of thirteen, when his father's sudden and premature death occurred. At the time he was in pursuit of Sikandar Sūr in company with his *atālīk* or guardian, Bairām Khān, who had shared

* Some authorities place Islām Shāh's death in the year 1552. Both Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm were killed in Bengal in contests with Afghān rulers—the former about 1557, and the latter in 1567.

the fortunes evil and good of Humāyūn. The position of the young prince was one of great peril: Sikandar was still at large, while Hīmū had moved up from Bengal with a formidable army of Rājputs and Afghans. Agra opened its gates to him without a blow being struck, and Delhi weakly followed suit.

Happily Bairām Khān was of stout heart and would listen to no counsels of despair or cowardice. Under his direction Akbar's army advanced confidently to meet the host of Hīmū, which was much superior in numbers. The battlefield was again Pānīpat. Hīmū entered the fray seated upon a towering elephant, and the fight was going in his favour, until an arrow pierced his eye. Then his supporters fled, and the wounded chief was brought bound before the boy Akbar.

Bairām Khān urged him to slay his enemy, but the youthful Emperor replied, "How can I strike a man as good as dead?"—and it was left to Bairām to despatch the Hindu with his own hand.

Bairām Khān was virtually the ruler of the Empire for two or three years. Akbar, however, was fast coming to manhood, and his impatience of control was encouraged by his foster-mother, Māhaim Anaga. In 1560 he announced that henceforward he would rule in his own name, and Bairām Khān was dismissed from office and given permission to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. The ex-minister raised a revolt, but his following deserted him, and he fell into the hands of the Emperor. Akbar spared his life, and insisted only on his carrying out his pious intention of



AKBAR

By kind permission of the India Office

becoming a Hājī. Bairām Khān, however, was not destined to see the K'aba; for he was assassinated by an Afghan at Pātan in Gujarāt, whither he had proceeded on his way to take ship for Arabia. Akbar was not less successful in dealing with other rebellious nobles, who thought they might set their youthful sovereign at defiance.

There was a large work of conquest and annexation before Akbar; for neither his grandfather, Bābar, nor his father, Humāyūn, had had time to subdue more than the territories lying between Kābul and Jaunpur. The rival powers nearest to Delhi were the first to be attacked. In the Panjāb Sikandar Sūr was compelled to capitulate in 1557, and was allowed to retire into Bengal, where he died. Gwālīor was taken in 1558, Lucknow and Jaunpur were brought within the Empire in 1561, and Mālwa and Khāndesh followed in 1562. In this year also Akbar married the daughter of Bihārī Mal of Jaipur, thus inaugurating that policy of close alliance with the Rājputs, which contributed so greatly to the prosperity of his reign. Rāja Bhagavān Dās, the son of Bihārī Mal, and Rāja Mān Singh, the son of Bhagavān Dās, were among Akbar's most successful and trusted generals. Similar marriage alliances were made afterwards with the princesses of the Jodhpur and Bikanēr Houses; but these unions were distasteful to Rājput pride and were conceded only because of the force or bribes applied.

The head and front of the Rājput resistance to the Mughal was the kingdom of Mewār. Rāṇa Sanga, the opponent of Bābar, was now dead, and his son, Udai Singh, reigned at Chitor in his stead.

**The Fall of
Chitor : 1567**

Akbar determined to reduce this fortress and so to break the power of the Rājputs. Udai Singh retired into the mountains, leaving the defence of his capital to the brave Jai Mal. The siege was long and arduous. Akbar's engineers built covered approaches to the walls, but one of their mines exploded too soon and wrought terrible havoc in the investing army. A new work was commenced and carried up to the rampart in which a large breach had been made by the besiegers' batteries. Jai Mal, as usual at the post of danger, was shot dead

in the breach by Akbar himself, who took aim at the Rājput leader by the light of the musquetry flashes. His fall brought the resistance to an end. The women perished in the flames of their funeral pyres, and eight thousand Rājputs are said to have been slain in the massacre that followed. According to the tradition, $74\frac{1}{2}$ measures of Rājput necklets were gathered up by the conquerors; wherefore the number $74\frac{1}{2}$ has been accursed and of ill omen in Rājasthān ever since. This was the third and final sack of Chitor; for it has never again been the seat of the sovereignty of the Guhila princes. The fortress of Rantambhor and Kālanjar in quick succession shared the downfall of Chitor.



RUINS OF CHITOR

We may relate here briefly the rest of the history of Mewār, which belongs to Akbar's reign. Udaī

**Raja Pertab's
Resistance**

Singh founded a new capital at Udaipur, and, presently dying, his son Pertāb (Pratāpa) was elected chief. He was a hero of sterner stuff than his father, and vowed to eat off a platter of leaves and to lie upon a pallet of straw, until Chitor should be recovered from the Musalmān conqueror and he should

take his seat there upon the throne of his ancestors. The Mahārāja of Udaipur keeps the letter of this oath, if not its spirit, to this day, by placing a leaf beneath his golden dish and straw under his silken mattress. Unable to meet the Mughal armies in the open, Pertāb laid waste the fertile valleys of Rājputāna; and, whenever the chance offered, he swooped down upon and cut off detachments of the enemy in the narrow defiles. Rāja Mān Singh, whom Pertāb had insulted by refusing to eat with him, vowed that he would not leave him even a foothold in the hills; and he nearly made good his word. The strong forts of Kombhalmīr and Kokanda were captured in 1577, and Pertāb was so harried and chivied from rock to rock by the Mughal divisions under the chief command of Prince Salīm that his children were in rags and starving and the father in despair began to think of making his submission or migrating to the Indus. Then his fortunes took a turn for the better. Pertāb inflicted several defeats on the Mughal generals and recovered much of his territory. Akbar's attention being drawn off to other fields, he was suffered to live in comparative peace and prosperity, though in his last years Prince Salīm was sent to harass him again.

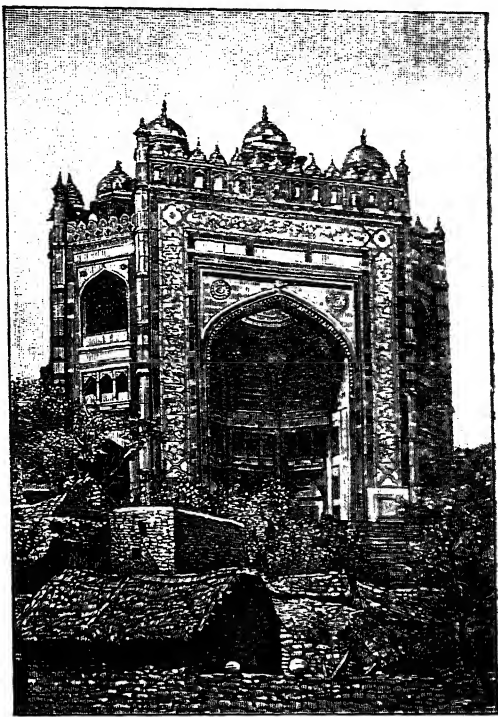
Meanwhile the Empire was being extended in other directions. Gujarāt was over-run in 1572; but the local rulers were not easily subjugated, and the annexation was not settled and complete till 1584. In the east the Afghān, Dāūd Khān, was defeated and Bengal was annexed in 1575, Mān Singh adding Orissa in 1590. Akbar resided for several years at Lahore, while military operations were being carried on in the north-west. Kashmīr was brought under his sway in 1587, Sindh in 1592, and Kandahār was recovered in 1594. Thus all the countries from Afghānistān to the shores of the Bāy of Bengal owned allegiance to Delhi.

The last efforts of the Emperor were directed against the south. Burhānpur, the capital of Khāndesh, had been taken as early as 1562; and this province may be regarded as the threshold of the Deccan. But it was not until the last decade of

**Annexation of
Gujarat, Ben-
gal, and the
North-West**

**The Campaign
in the Deccan**

his reign that Akbar made a serious attempt to bring the country south of the Narmadā under his rule. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar, from its geographical position, was the first to be assailed. Prince Murād with the Khān-i-Khānān, or Commander-in-chief, was sent to effect its conquest, and in 1595 he laid siege to the city. The besiegers made no headway at all; for the dowager-queen, Chānd Bibī, was the life and soul of a vigorous and heroic defence. After some months the Mughals were glad to make peace on condition that Birar should be ceded to the Empire. There was a want of harmony among their generals, and Murād was



GATEWAY, FATHPUR SIKRI

rapidly drinking himself to death. A desultory war with the allied kings of the Deccan followed. Abul-Fazl, Akbar's intimate friend and counsellor, was sent in 1598 to restore discipline in the army and to recall the prince to the Court. He reached the camp on the day when Murād breathed his last. Akbar himself now came south. The Rāja of Khāndesh showing signs of disloyalty, the Emperor declared war

against him, and laid siege to his stronghold of Āsīrgarh, while his son, Dānīyāl, was despatched to reduce Ahmadnagar. Chānd Bibī was no longer present to save the city; for she had been assassinated by a factious eunuch, and both Ahmadnagar (1600) and Āsīrgarh fell into the hands of Akbar.

As a soldier Akbar proved himself to be a leader of tireless energy and intrepid resolution. He frequently out-marched his best men, and more than once did not hesitate to attack an enemy in force with only a handful of troopers at his side. He is said to have ridden from Fathpur Sikrī to Ahmadābād in Gujarāt in nine days. His adversary, Husain Mirzā, was roused from sleep by the blast of his trumpets and cried out across the river, "My spies have informed me that fourteen days ago the Emperor was at Fathpur; and if this be the imperial army, where are the royal elephants?" The answer came back in the darkness, "How could elephants have travelled with us four hundred *kos* in nine days?" Akbar delighted in hunting and was so keen on polo that he played the game at night with fire-balls.

Akbar's reign was distinguished by the improvement of the internal administration no less than by its unbroken series of victories. He showed his humane disposition by discouraging child marriages, the burning of widows and trials by ordeal. It is clear that the Emperor early adopted a policy of religious toleration. The *Jizya*, or poll-tax on

**Akbar's
Internal
Policy**

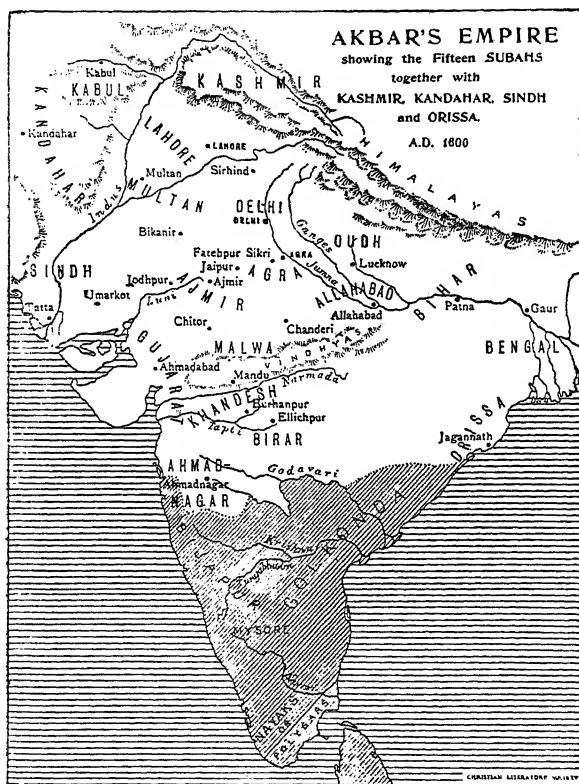


GOLD COIN OF AKBAR

infidels, was abolished in 1562, as also the tax on pilgrims. By his marriages with Rājput

princesses and by giving their chieftains posts of honour and power, both in the army and in the civil government, Akbar attached many of the Hindus to his person and throne. The Rājput generals and their

squadrons of horse were an offset to and a safeguard against the Afghāns and the fanatical Musalmān party in the Empire. They could be trusted even to fight against their own race in the hills of Rājasthān. The most famous of Akbar's Hindu officers were the Rājput princes,



Bhagavān Dās and Mān Singh, the Kshatriya Todar Mal, and the Brāhman Birbal. Akbar placed his nobles and officers in the grades of a feudal military service, ranging down from the command of five thousand (or more in the case of the Princes Royal) to the command of

a troop of ten horse. These officers were known as *mansabdārs*, or holders of *mansabs*, those enjoying the higher commands having the title of *amīrs*. The lesser *mansabdārs* drew their pay direct from the Imperial Treasury, and had to present their troopers and horses at periodical inspections. To prevent fraud the horses were branded at these musters. The higher *mansabdārs* were granted provinces (*sūbahs*) or estates (*jāgīrs*), out of the revenues of which they had to defray the expense of keeping their contingents. They were often given the privilege of maintaining a less number of troops than was proper to their title and rank, the savings thus effected going into their own pockets. With all these precautions and concessions, there seems to have been much speculation. The *mansabdārs* dressed up servants and shop-keepers in military uniforms and hired horses for the parades; and, when the inspection was over, they dismissed their sham soldiers to their menial employments. Yet Akbar was never in want of armies for his many campaigns.

The Empire was divided into fifteen provinces or *sūbahs*, and the viceroys or governors were known as *sūbahdārs*. Each *sūbahdār* was provided with a *dīwān* to supervise the collection of revenue, and a *faujdār* for the military and criminal administration. In the towns there were *kotwāls*, or police superintendents, and *kāzīs*, or doctors of the law, to settle cases in court.

Todar Mal was Akbar's great minister of finance. Under his direction a survey was carried out in several of the *sūbahs*, the assessment on cultivated lands being revised according to stated rules and limited to about one-third of the gross produce. Tracts yielding a crore of rupees were placed under an officer called a *crorī*. Special officials were appointed for the examination of the accounts, and monthly statements had to be sent regularly to the treasury. Todar Mal passed a regulation that all accounts should be kept in Persian; and this order led to the growth of a new dialect in North India, the Urdū. It must not be supposed, however, that Akbar introduced a regular revenue settlement into all parts of his great Empire; and even where the new system was established, its purpose was often defeated by the avarice and

dishonesty of the officials. The control of the revenues of the *sūbahs* and *jāgīrs* by the central Government was loose and inefficient at its best. Provided that the local ruler remitted his tribute without fail, he was left free to manage his province or estate much as he pleased.

We are told that, as a boy, Akbar took pleasure in hearing the verses of the Sūfis, the Persian mystics. He

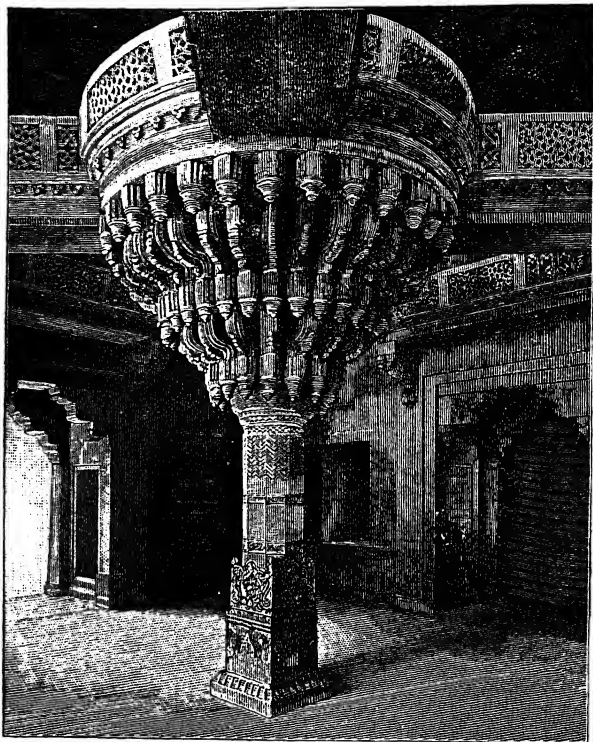
**The Divine
Faith**

had received no regular education in his troubled youth; but by conversation with learned men of all kinds he had made himself competent to weigh and to express an opinion on any topic. He was possessed with an insatiable intellectual curiosity, and delighted to hear men of the most diverse views discourse on religion and philosophy. Brāhmans and Buddhist monks, Parsi fire worshippers and Jesuit fathers from Goa, were made welcome at his Court. The Emperor believed that there was a measure of truth in all religions, and he commenced to choose out of them what seemed to him right and most excellent.

Those who had most to do with shaping his religious opinions were the two gifted brothers—Abul-Faizī and Abul-Fazl. Faizī was an exquisite poet, who was brought to the notice of Akbar in the camp before Chitor in 1568. Seven years later he introduced his younger brother, Abul-Fazl, who wrote the *Akbar-nāma* with the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. Their father was Shaikh Mubārak, who had gleaned wisdom in many a field and had been persecuted as a Shīa heretic before Akbar took him under his protection. The two sons became the Emperor's most loved and trusted friends.

The chief architectural monument of Akbar's reign is the now deserted city of Fathpur Sikrī. Here dwelt a Muhammadan saint, Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, who promised a son to Akbar. In his house Prince 'Salīm, afterwards the Emperor Jahāngīr, was born in 1570 and at this place Akbar raised up a city of exquisite beauty, where he passed many of his days. He sat much alone within the garden of his palace, revolving many thoughts and "gathering up the bliss of the hours of the dawn." Probably under the influence of Abul-Fazl he erected the Hall of Worship, Ibādat Khāna, where religious discussions

were carried on by men of all faiths. Of the orthodox doctors of the Law, the Sunni Ulamā, the more bigoted soon disgusted Akbar by their violence and ill manners; while the rest displeased him by their honest but adverse opinions. In the babel of conflicting voices the question



PILLAR IN IBADAT KHANA

was raised as to what is the final seat of authority in matters of religion, when doctors differ. The old Shaikh Mubārak drafted a document, declaring the Emperor to be head of the Church, even as he was of the State. "The authority of the just king," so the proclamation ran, "is

higher than that of the *mujtahid* (doctor of canon law), and therefore should a religious question come up regarding which the *mujtahids* disagree, the Emperor's decision should be binding on the Muslims of India, and any opposition to imperial decrees should involve the loss of goods and religion in this world and insure damnation in the world to come." Thus Akbar became the Khalif to those who accepted the new religion—the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. The power and the occupation of the *Ulamā* were gone.

Moreover, at this time the Muslim world was stirred by the hope that the Mahdi would come at the close of the first thousand years of the Muhammadan era (1592). Abul-Fazl seems to have suggested that the Emperor himself was none other than the promised Mahdi. Those who joined the new sect wore a badge of the Emperor in their turbans; they greeted one another with the salutation, *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is great,' which the adversary suggested maliciously might mean—'Akbar is God'; and the perfect disciple made a fourfold dedication to Akbar of life, wealth, honour, and religion. Reverence to the sun, as a symbol of the creative power of the Universe, became the chief part of the ritual of the new cult. This was borrowed partly from the Parsis, and partly too from the worship of the Hindus; for it was the Brāhman Bīrbal, a follower of the new way, who reminded the king that the Sun originates and sustains the life of the world. At the New Year festival the whole Court rose at the lighting of the lamps. Akbar was declared to be an incarnation of the Supreme Light.

But however fantastic and over-weening the opinions cherished by Akbar about himself may have been, they did not lead to the persecution of others. They excited the bitter anger and contempt of the orthodox Sunnis, for whom the historian Badaunī is a spokesman. The rule that Akbar practised towards his subjects was toleration, and, though he more than once attempted to persuade some of his great nobles to accept the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, he forced none of them to do so. Mān Singh's reply to him was in effect—"Islām I know and the Hindu religion I know; but as for this new way, I know not what it is."

There were sorrows enough in Akbar's last years to rebuke and correct any follies of which he had been guilty. Two of his sons, Murād and Dāniyāl, **The Last Days of Akbar** had gone down into the drunkard's grave; and a third, the child of prayer and promise, Prince Salīm, broke out into open revolt against him. He procured the murder of Abul-Fazl in 1602, as he was returning from the Deccan to the Court. However, before the end came, Akbar sought and found a reconciliation with Salīm, and appointed him his heir. Then he passed away in 1605—whether by poison or natural decay none can say with certainty—after a reign of unequalled length and splendour.

JAHANGIR: A.D. 1605-1627. — Prince Salīm, who was born to Akbar of Jodhbai, the Marwār princess, according to the prophecy of the saint Salīm Chishtī, succeeded Akbar on the throne, with the title of Jahāngīr, or 'World-Conqueror.' There was a party of Rājput nobles, led by Mān Singh, who would have liked to have seen his son, Khusrū, made Emperor; but their plans went awry. Jahāngīr posed as a Sunni and obtained the support of the stricter Muhammadan party; but he was really an open-handed, pleasure-loving monarch, who cared little for the laws and restraints of religion. He was devoted to the pleasures of the chase and the wine-cup, and loved to make a display of his generosity by lavish gifts to beggars or visitors to his Court. There was, too, a darker strain of brutality in his temperament, which he gratified by the barbarous sports and executions that were enacted in his presence. He had, however, good nature and common sense sufficient to keep him on friendly terms with his Rājput officers and Hindu subjects.

Khusrū was a favourite with the populace, and he could not forget that he had been a rival to his father before his accession. He raised the standard of revolt, but his forces were routed in the Panjāb and Khusrū was taken prisoner. Jahāngīr caused the eyes of the Prince to be sewn up, and impaled some hundreds of his followers upon sharpened stakes. Khusrū was kept in confinement for several years, but afterwards regained a measure of

favour with his father. His brother, Prince Khurram, could not afford to neglect so dangerous a rival, and carried off Khusrū with him to the Deccan, where he died—without suspicion of poison—in 1622.

We are not dependent on the Muhammadan historians alone for our knowledge of Jahāngīr's reign; for several

**The English-
men at the
Court**

European travellers visited India at this time and have left most valuable records of their adventures. Hawkins, a ship captain, came to Agra bearing a letter from King James I and seeking permission for the English to trade with India and build a factory at Surāt. Hawkins was at the Court from 1608 to 1611 and became a great favourite with and boon companion of the Emperor, who was curious to learn all he could of Western countries and their governments. The sailor was present at many of the Emperor's drinking bouts in the private apartments of the palace. His narrative shows that bribery was rife among the officials and that travelling was not too safe between the coast and the capital. Sir Thomas Roe, who was sent some years later, was a man of much higher standing than Hawkins. He was both a scholar and a courtier, of handsome presence, courage and dignity. He would not tolerate the insults that the officials would have put upon him and his suite, and by his firm bearing he won respect both for himself and the king whom he represented. He was in India from 1615 to 1618, and came to the conclusion that it was hopeless to try and obtain a regular commercial treaty between England and India under a government like that of the Mughal. He succeeded, however, in getting from the Emperor a *farmān*, or permit, for the English to trade at Surāt.

There were two important wars in the reign of Jahāngīr. In Rājputāna Prince Khurram enjoyed an

**Wars in Raj-
putana and
the Deccan**

unparalleled triumph; for the Rāṇa of Udaipur, Amra, weary of a conflict in which victories were almost as costly as defeats, made his submission in 1614, and sent his son and grandson to the Court, where they were received with unusual favour and distinction. Jahāngīr was so delighted at the submission of a power, which none of

his ancestors had been able to reduce, and with the later services of his son Khurram in the Deccan that he gave him the title of Shāh-jahān and made him a *Mansabdār* of Thirty Thousand.

In the Deccan we have seen that Akbar took Ahmadnagar towards the close of his reign; but an Abyssinian slave, Malik Ambar, raised up the fallen dynasty of the Nizām Shāhs. He recovered Ahmadnagar from the Mughals, and with the help of his Marāṭha allies—among whom was Śahājī, the father of the famous Śivājī—he defeated their generals in several actions. In 1616 Shāh-jahān was sent against him, and in 1620 Malik Ambar suffered a heavy defeat. Ahmadnagar was taken by the



ZODIACAL GOLD MOHURS OF JAHANGIR

Mughals in the following year, and the conflict was brought to a close by the death of Malik Ambar in 1629.

Shāh-jahān had long cherished the hope of succeeding his father. He now broke out into open rebellion; but his troops deserted him on the approach of an imperial army, and he fled to Bengal, whence he afterwards made his way to Mālwa and Sindh. With the exception of a brief and partial reconciliation, he remained in exile to the end of the reign.

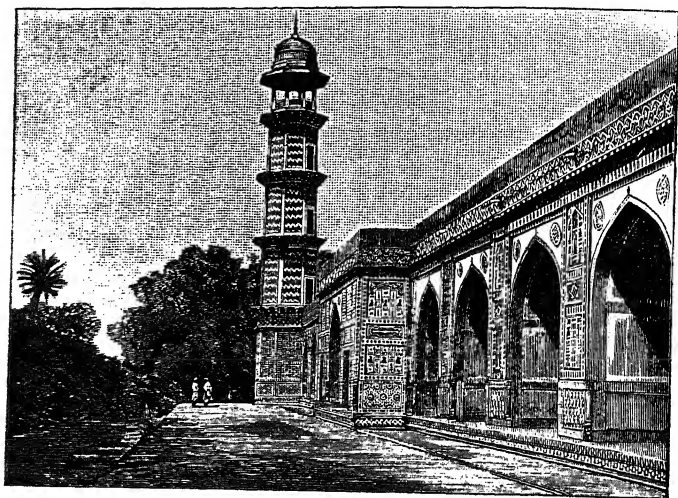
In the later years of his life Jahāngīr—easy-going man—had given the reins of government into the hands

of his favourite wife, Nūr Mahal—the ‘Light of the Palace,’ or Nūr Jahān, as she was sometimes called. She was the widow of a Persian captain, whom Jahāngīr had seen and fallen in love with before her first marriage. As his wife she won and held the complete confidence and affection of the Emperor. “He used to say,” writes a chronicler, “that Nūr Jahān Begam had been selected and was wise enough to conduct the affairs of State, and all he wanted was a stoup of wine and a piece of meat to keep himself merry.”

Nūr Mahal showed herself at the public window of the palace as a ruling sovereign and her name appeared on the coinage along with Jahāngīr’s. She was a generous patron of poor Muhammadan girls, for many of whom she found both husband and dowry; and her charities won favour for her with the people. Nūr Mahal had a daughter, whom she wished to marry to Shāh-jahān. His heart, however, was engrossed in Mumtāz Mahal, the daughter of her brother, Āsaf Khan, who was the Wazīr of the Empire. The disappointed queen had no other resource than to bestow her daughter’s hand on prince Shāhriyār, and after the betrothal she used all her influence to get him recognised as heir to the throne. Jahāngīr, however, named Bulākī, or Dāwar Baksh, a son of Khusrū, as his successor.

The domination and intrigues of Nūr Mahal could not fail to excite the resentment of some of the nobles. One of them, the general Mahābat Khān, a partisan of Shāh-jahān, told the king plainly one day that it was not well for a woman to have so much power; and, seeing that words were of no avail and fearing for his own safety, he seized the person of the Emperor, as he lay in camp beside the Behat river on his way to Kābul and was separated from the main body of his escort. Nūr Mahal led the imperial army to the rescue, but the stream ran swift and deep between her and her husband. Her horses and elephants stumbled or were swept away in the whirlpools, and she was repulsed with loss. But where force failed, a woman’s wiles succeeded. Nūr Mahal presently joined the Emperor in captivity. Mahābat Khān was thrown off his guard, and Jahāngīr was enabled to escape to his army and to regain his

freedom and authority. He died, however, within a short time, as he was on his way from Kashmīr to Lahore. The Wazīr, Āsaf Khān, set up Bulākī as a stop-gap, till Shāh-jahān could be brought from the Deccan, where he was still a fugitive. In twenty days a swift runner carried to him the news of his father's death with Āsaf Khān's ring to attest it, and he marched at once towards Agra.* He sent orders for the puppet Bulākī and other rival princes to be put to death, and ascended the throne without opposition.



TOMB OF JAHANGIR AT LAHORE

SHAH-JAHAN: A.D. 1627-1658.—Shāh-jahān like his father was the son of a Rājput princess of Marwār. As a young man he had not been a popular favourite, and when Sir Thomas Roe saw him, he thought him grave and cold—one who was to be feared rather than loved. But when he

* Tavernier says that a report was spread abroad of Shāh-jahān's death, and that the prince was carried in a bier towards Agra. When the trick was discovered, Bulākī was deserted by all his courtiers, and fled to Persia, where Tavernier says he saw and spoke with him.

came to the throne, he continued the mild policy of his father towards Hindus, and never was the Mughal Court so magnificent as in his time. It was Shāh-jahān who had the celebrated Peacock throne made; and the wealth displayed at the capital moved European travellers to wonder and admiration.*

One of the earliest notable events of Shāh-jahān's reign was the destruction of the Portuguese settlement at Hūgli in 1631. The fort and factory were razed to the ground, and all who were taken alive were made slaves. This was an act of retaliation for the piracies committed by the Portuguese renegades, who made use of the port of Chittagong as their naval base; and by it Shāh-jahān requited also the incivility, which he considered had been shown him, when he was a fugitive prince in Bengal.

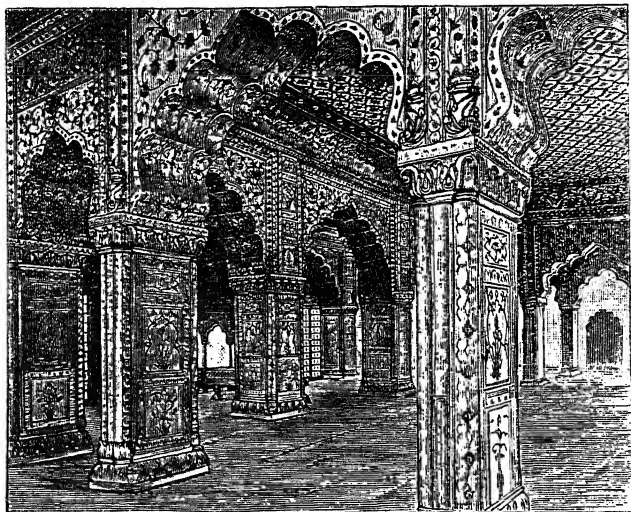
The troubles in the Deccan soon engaged the Emperor's attention. The puppet Nizām Shāh had been murdered by Malik Ambar's son; but another prince of the line was set up and supported by Śahāji, the Marātha. In 1635 Shāh-jahān took charge of the operations in the south and brought an overwhelming weight of troops to bear against the Deccan kingdoms. Within a year Bijāpur made its peace with the Emperor, agreeing to pay an annual tribute of twenty lakhs. The struggle with Ahmadnagar was brought to an end in 1637; the Nizām Shāhs disappeared finally from history, and Śahāji was permitted to retire and enter the service of the Bijāpur king. He was employed by him in the conquest of the Carnātic, and annexed the countries in the basin of the Kāverī, establishing his master's authority at Seringapatam, Kolar, Bangalore, and Tanjore, and obtaining for himself some extensive *jāgīrs*.

Aurangzib, one of Shāh-jahān's sons, was appointed Governor of the Deccan in 1636, but some years latter he

* Mandelslo, the German, was in India during Shāh-jahān's reign (1638). Tavernier, the French jeweller, made his Indian journeys between 1641 and 1667 and thus saw the country under Shāh-jahān and Aurangzib. Bernier, the French physician, was in India from 1659 to 1667. Manucci, the Venetian, was present as a lad at the battle of Samūgarh, and spent a long life in India, surviving even Aurangzib.

disgusted his father by proposing to turn *fakīr* and have done with the vanities of this perishing world. Shāh-jahān found employment better befitting a prince of the Imperial House in the far north-west. - Balkh and Badakhshān had been wrested from the grasp of the Delhi sovereign and Aurangzib was sent to recover them. His military operations were hardly successful; for the country was distant

**The Early
Career
of Aurangzib**



THE DIWAN-I-KHAS, DELHI

and the climate was too rigorous for an Indian army. Aurangzib, therefore, decided to retire, and with difficulty and loss drew off his troops before the snows of early winter had closed the passes. Aurangzib also made an attempt to recover Kandahār, which had been captured by the Persians in Jahāngīr's reign, given up by the Governor, Alī Mardan, in 1637, and retaken by the Persians in 1648. He was twice defeated and repulsed, and Kandahār was finally lost to the Mughal Empire. The prince had little

to show for all his pains, but at least he had learnt the art of war in a hard school.

In 1655 Aurangzib was sent south again and renewed the struggle with Bijāpur and Golkonda. He entered into an intrigue with Mīr Jumlā, the able Wazīr of the Sultān of Golkonda, who had fallen out with his master; and he would probably have taken the citadel with all its hoarded treasures, had not Shāh-jahān interposed and ordered him to return at once to his province. Mīr Jumlā afterwards became one of the most powerful of Aurangzib's supporters, and was appointed by him to the *sūbah* of Bengal. Aurangzib was recalled from the Deccan by the struggle for the succession to the throne; and Śivāji, the Marātha chieftain, was left free to enter upon his campaign against the first of his Musalmān foes—the Sultān of Bijāpur.

Shāh-jahān deserves most to be remembered for the glorious architecture of his reign. At Agra he built a Jāma

**Shah-jahan's
Buildings**

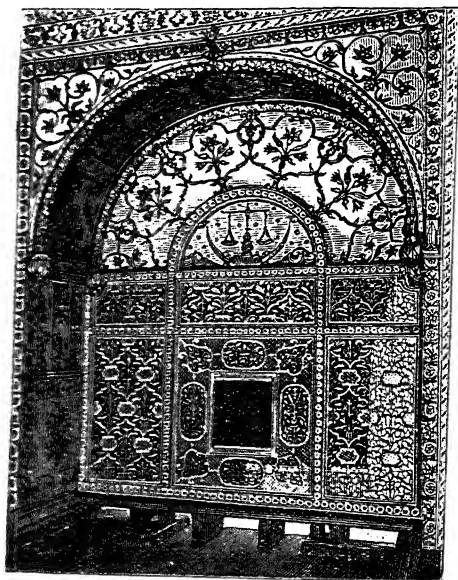
Masjid, the exquisite Pearl Mosque within the Fort, and — most renowned of all — the Tāj Mahal. This was the mausoleum of the Emperor's loved wife, Mumtāz Mahal, who died in 1631 after bearing fourteen children to him. Eighteen years was her memorial in building, though as many as twenty thousand men were employed at one time upon the work. Of the Tāj Mahal one may repeat the oft-quoted phrase — "designed by Titans and finished by jewellers." A vast white dome with flanking towers soars above the tomb. Under its central space a marble screen, inlaid with precious stones in designs of rare and delicate beauty, marks the site of the vault below, which holds the dust of the Queen.

At Delhi a new city rose at the Emperor's command, and it was called after him 'Shāhjahanābād.' For the royal residence he built a fortress upon the bank of the river. It was defended by massive walls, rising to a height of sixty feet or more and pierced by lofty and imposing gateways. Within were the still existing Diwān-i-Ām, or Hall of Public Audience, and Diwān-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, beneath the ceiling of which the motto was placed — "If there be a paradise on Earth, it is this—it is this." The Jāma Masjid of Delhi was another of Shāh-jahān's great works.

As the Emperor grew older, he gave way to sloth and self-indulgence, and came wholly under the influence of his eldest daughter. His favourite son was Dārā Shukoh, to whom the government of Lahore and Mūltān had been entrusted. Dārā Shukoh, leaving his province to the care of a son, was in residence at the capital ; and when Shāh-jahān

**The Struggle
for the
Succession**

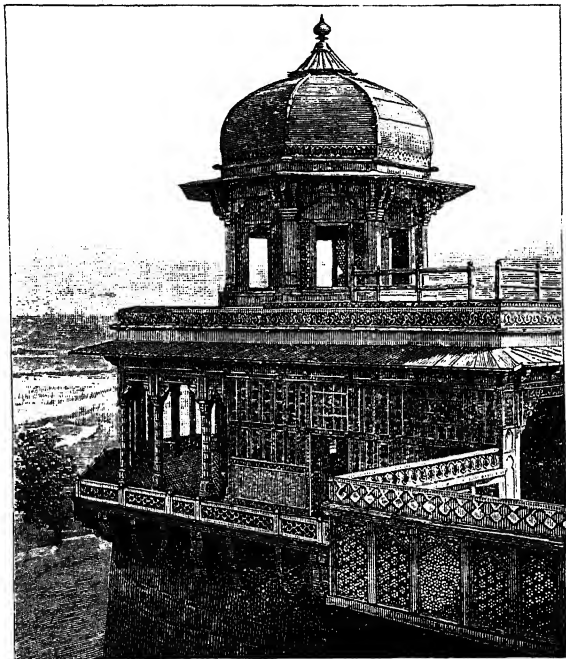
chanced to fall dangerously ill, he commenced to act in the Emperor's name. It was plain that the long-anticipated struggle between the princes of the blood royal could be delayed no longer. Shujā marched from Bengal to enforce his claim to the throne ; but he was defeated and driven back by the army which Dārā sent to meet him under his son, Sulaimān Shukoh. Meanwhile Aurangzib in the Deccan had entered into communi-



LATTICE IN BATHROOM OF SHAH-JAHAN'S
PALACE AT DELHI

cation with his brother, Murād, the Viceroy of Gujarāt. He professed to have no desire himself for worldly honour or power ; but he urged that they should unite to overthrow Dārā Shukoh, who was a rebel against their father and a heretic to boot. Murād fell in with his astute brother's views, and effected a junction with the forces of Aurangzib. The decisive battle took place in 1658 at Samūgarh (Fathābād). The Rājputs fought with desperate valor for

Dārā, and the prince bore himself bravely in the hottest of the fray. He carried all before him in his impetuous onset, but in an evil moment for himself descended from his elephant and mounted his horse to continue the fight. Those about him, seeing the empty howdah, thought that their leader either was slain or had fled; and the day was lost.



JASMINE TOWER, AGRA

After offering feigned congratulations to his brother on the battlefield, the victorious Aurangzib marched on to Agra. His father sent him out a sword of honour which bore the legend—Ālamgīr, or "World-Conqueror," on its hilt. His courtiers found a happy omen in this event;

and such it proved to be, if to win a throne by bloodshed and treachery be happiness. There was little doubt in men's minds as to which of the two successful princes was the real master. It remained only for Aurangzib to find a pretext for getting rid of Murād. The good-natured and careless soldier was made disgracefully drunk; he was seized and lectured by Aurangzib upon his impiety, declared unfit to occupy a Muslim throne, and conveyed away secretly to prison. Three years later a charge of murder was raked up against him, and he was put to death at Gwālīor. Shāh-jahān was walled up in his palace and gardens at Agra, and kept a close prisoner for eight years. He was treated with indulgence and respect by his son, but never allowed to come forth for one moment. There he lived in inglorious ease, till he passed away in 1666. The unfortunate Dārā Shukoh managed to raise another army, but was a second time defeated near Ajmīr. He fled into Sindh, where he was betrayed into the hands of his pursuers by a Pathān chief, whose life he had saved. Aurangzib paraded him through the streets of Delhi, clad in rags and seated upon a mean and filthy elephant; but the chief result of this exhibition was to bring down upon the head of the victor the curses of the common people, who loved Dārā and shed tears at the sight of his misfortunes. Dārā was speedily tried and executed as an apostate from Islām and a friend of infidels. Two sons afterwards shared his fate. Meanwhile Shujā had made another attempt from the side of Bengal and failed again. Pursued by Mīr Jumlā, he fled away to Arakan, where he perished somewhere amid the mountains. There was none left now to dispute the succession with Aurangzib, and on the death of his father he formally assumed the sovereignty, which for some years he had been exercising.*

AURANGZIB: A.D. 1658-1707.—The new Emperor was a zealous and orthodox Muhammadan of the Sunni sect. His religious convictions governed alike his public policy and his private conduct. Aurangzib has been denounced

* Aurangzib took the title of Alamgīr, but we shall use here the name by which he is best known to English readers.

as a hypocrite, who used religion merely as a cloak for his selfish ambition: but a view of his whole life will shew that he was no hypocrite. His religion may have been harsh and illiberal, but it was sincere. Aurangzib came forward as the defender of the faith of Islām. He opposed his brothers, because they were no true Musalmāns.

Dārā was tainted with the Sūfi heresy, and was even suspected of leanings towards Christianity; Shūja was a Shīa of dissolute life; and Murād was a mere sportsman and soldier, who had weakly allowed himself indulgences forbidden by the Law. It was Aurangzib's fixed aim to rule as a just and faithful Muhammadan king. The jailer of his father, the executioner of his brothers and nephews, a master in craft and dissimulation,



AURANGZIB

Aurangzib's crime was that he was ready to use any means to gain his end: and his punishment was that all his days he was racked by suspicion of his officers and his own children. "The art of reigning," he warned his second son, Muazzam, "is so delicate that a king's jealousy should be awakened by his very shadow. . . . Indulge not the fatal delusion that Aurangzib may be treated by his children as was Jahāngīr by his son, Shāh-jahān."

Aurangzib was simple and temperate in his manner of living. He has been well termed "the Puritan Emperor." Wine he never drank, and he had no ear for the songs of dancing women. One day a procession of musicians, whose services were no longer in request, passed by the window of the palace carrying a bier. On being asked whom they were bearing to the grave, they replied, "We are burying Music." "Then bury it deep," said the Emperor with

The Puritan Emperor

grim humour. No ruler ever had a clearer idea of the end of government. To one who told him that he was working too hard, he answered, "I was sent into the world by providence to live and labour, not for myself but for others.... It is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of



MOSQUE OF AURANGZIB, BENARES

my people... Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence." To his sybarite father he wrote, "It is clear to wise men that a wolf is not fit to be a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty means the protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism." Yet all his good purposes were wrecked, because his only

statesmanship was craft and his religion left no room for tolerance. He did not recognise that spiritual means alone are able to achieve the ends of true religion. His violence was powerless to correct the errors of the idolater and to sever the bonds of ignorance and superstition.

Aurangzib was neither unjust nor cruel, where the interests of his religion were not concerned. A European traveller describes him as of benevolent and venerable mien. He was the fountain of justice as of honour in his Empire, and was unwearying in hearing suits and attending to public business. Indeed one of his biographers, Khāfi Khān, charges him with the fault of over-much kindness and gentleness :—"Of all the sovereigns of the House of Taimūr, no one has ever been so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long-suffering, and sound judgement he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained." But the same Law, which made him so patient and forbearing with his Muhammadan nobles and subjects, justified him in a policy towards Hindus that was as oppressive to them as it was disastrous to the Empire of the Mughals.

Aurangzib abolished all taxes for which sanction could not be found in Muhammadan law. He gave up the revenue from the tax on Hindu pilgrims as a making of gain from idolatry. On the other hand, he was ready to employ the severest measures which the Ulamā would approve.

The Brāhmans of Benares were forbidden to teach the *Vedas*, and the famous shrine of Viśvanātha was pulled down, a mosque being raised upon its ruins. Many other great temples were destroyed throughout Hindustān, and idols were brought in cart-loads to the capital to be trodden under foot by believers. The Sat Nāmīs, a new Hindu sect, broke out into open revolt in 1672, and were suppressed with savage cruelty. The poll-tax on infidels, the *jizya*, was revived in 1676 and excited general discontent. In Delhi the people blocked the road to the Mosque, presenting petitions for its repeal, but Aurangzib

was not to be shaken by any entreaty and ordered his elephants to be driven, if need be, over their prostrate bodies.

As we have mentioned before, Mīr Jumlā had been appointed to the viceroyalty of Bengal; and he had driven Shujā beyond the farthest limit of his territories. Aurangzib was incensed at the indignities inflicted by the ruler of Arakan upon one who, though a rival, was yet a prince of the Imperial House. By his command Mīr Jumlā led an army into Arakan and collected much booty; but he had great difficulty in drawing off his troops, when the torrential rains set in, and he died in Bengal, exhausted by his toil, in 1663. Shāyista Khān, the Emperor's uncle, succeeded to his post. In 1666 he suppressed the Portuguese pirates at Chittagong. A large number of them fell into his hands, and he settled them under supervision near Dacca, while their galleys were burned. The English, who now had factories at Hūgli and Kasīm Bazār, had much to do with Shāyista Khān. His restrictions led to the outbreak of a war in 1686, in which the English completely failed to make any impression on the vast bulk of the Mughal Empire. We should remember also that during Aurangzib's long reign the English acquired Bombay in 1665, and that, on the conclusion of their unsuccessful war in Bengal, the site of Calcutta was occupied by Job Charnock in 1690. The French Company appeared on Indian soil in 1668, and obtained privileges of trade at Surāt and Masūlipatām.

Nearly all the wars of Aurangzib arose out of his religious policy. The Rājputs of Mewār and Marwār could not look on idly, while their temples were being razed to the ground, and they refused to submit to the *jizya*. The Rāthors of Jodhpur had a further grievance of their own in that Aurangzib had attempted to seize the infant sons of Jaswant Singh and detain them as wards at his court. The war lasted from 1679 to 1681. The Emperor directed the movements of his armies from Ajmīr, and three of his sons were in command of separate divisions. The lands of the Rājputs were laid waste and

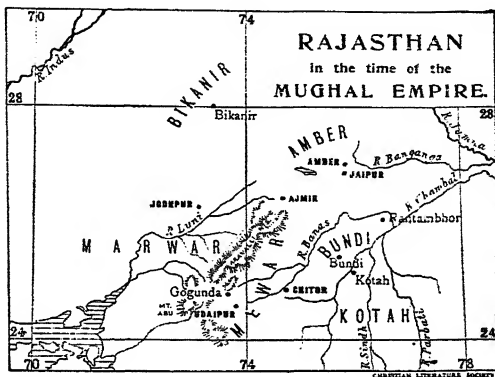
**Bengal and
Foreign Affairs**

**The War with
the Rājputs**

several of their fortresses captured; but they succeeded in drawing Prince Akbar from his allegiance, promising to support him against his father. Aurangzīb was at Ajmīr with only a small escort, when Akbar advanced upon him at the head of

seventy thousand horse.

The Emperor summoned Prince Muazzam to come to his aid with all speed, and by means of a letter, which he contrived should fall into the hands of the Rājputs, conveyed to them the sus-



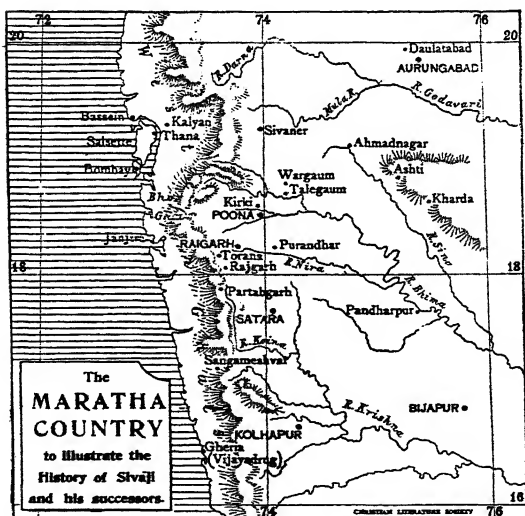
picion that Akbar was playing them false. They dispersed in a panic, and the rebel prince fled to the Marāthās, finally taking ship for Persia, whence he never returned. A peace was patched up with the Rāṇa of Udaipur in 1681; but the Rājputs were never truly reconciled to Aurangzīb, and from this date he could not count upon their services as his predecessors had done.

THE RISE OF THE MARATHAS.—It was time that Aurangzīb turned his arms southward, where affairs were going ill with his governors and generals. We must, however, first go back some years and tell the story of the rise of the Marāthās under Śivājī. He was the son of a Marāthā chieftain, Śahājī Bhonsle, whose services to the Ahmadnagar and Bījāpur States we have already noticed. His mother, Jijābai, belonged to a family, which claimed descent from the Yādavas of Devagiri. Thus, on both sides, Śivājī was sprung from good Marāthā stock. He was born in the fort of Śivaner in 1627, when his father was retreating before the Mughals, and was brought up on the family

jāgīr at Poona by his mother and the Brāhman manager of their estate, Dādojī Kondadev. Śivājī drank in a fervent Hindu faith with his mother's milk. She nurtured her boy on the stories of the gods and heroes of old, while Dādojī trained him in the science and art of administration according to the Brāhman ideal. Śivājī, as long as his mother lived, consulted her in all the great crises of his career, and became a devoted worshipper of her guardian goddess, Bhavānī. He went to the shrine of this deity to seek help and guidance before undertaking enterprises of great peril, and believed that he derived from

her both inspiration and protection.

The country of the true Marāthās was the mountainous region of the Western Ghāts. There they dwelt—a hardy race of yeomen, who had been enlisted for many years as lighthorse in the armies



of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. It was not Śivājī, who turned these clans of small farmers into a nation of mounted soldiers. The Marāthās were already trained for warfare, when he was born. His merit was that he united the chieftains and tribes in a common cause and taught them to choose the part of masters rather than that of servants. His father, Śahājī, had been content to be a vassal of the Sultāns of the Deccan; but Śivājī

compelled Bijāpur and Golkonda to pay tribute to him as their over-lord.

Śivāji's principles of action are summed up in the two brief commands laid by his *Guru*, or spiritual adviser, Rāmdās, upon the son, who succeeded to the throne—"Unite all who are Marāthās together, and propagate the *Dharma* of Mahārāshṭra." The time was remarkable for a religious movement all over India in which the Marāthā country shared. Its leaders were drawn from the low castes as well as from the high. They spoke the common speech of the country, and taught, in verses that lived upon the lips of the people, that salvation was to be won by the whole-hearted devotion of one's self to one's chosen god. Of such leaders Rāmdās was one, and Tukārām was another. Tukārām had cast himself, body and soul, on the gracious care of Viṭṭhoba of Paṇḍharpur. These poets and devotees raised high the fame of their favourite shrines and deities, and kindled in the Marāthās the sense that they had gods of their own to worship and defend and a national morality to cherish and observe. Thus it was that, when the Mughal threatened to overwhelm southern India, Śivāji was able to appeal to strong religious and racial feeling. He was crowned as the champion of the Hindu gods against the ruthless might of Aurangzib.

The first stage in Śivāji's career was the occupation of the strongholds in the neighbourhood of the Poona

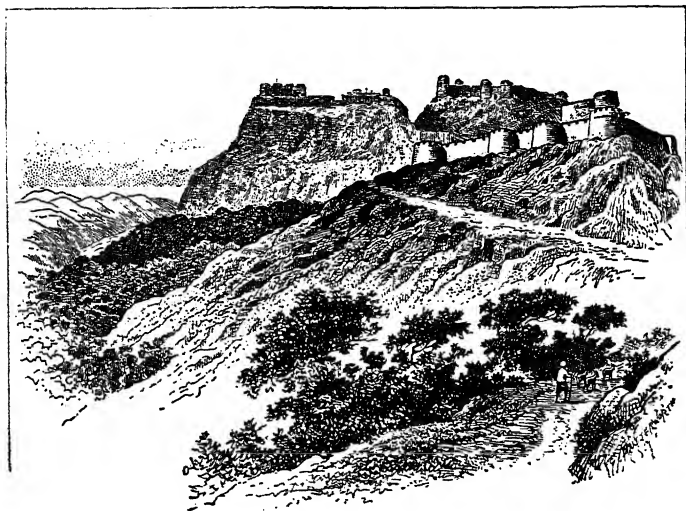


SIVAJI

jāgīr. In 1646 he seized the fort of Toranā, built the new castle of Rājgarh, and presently added to these Purandhar. Marāthā chieftains, who were disposed to hold aloof from the cause, were coerced into alliance and friendship; and one of them, Chandra Rao More, was removed by assassination.

Then, when Śivājī had consolidated his power, the second stage commenced with the struggle against Bījāpur. It lasted from 1657 to 1662; and its best-known incident is Śivājī's treacherous murder of the Bījāpur general, Afzal Khān, about the time of Aurangzīb's accession. Afzal Khān had

**Conflict with
Bijapur**



PARTABGARH FORT

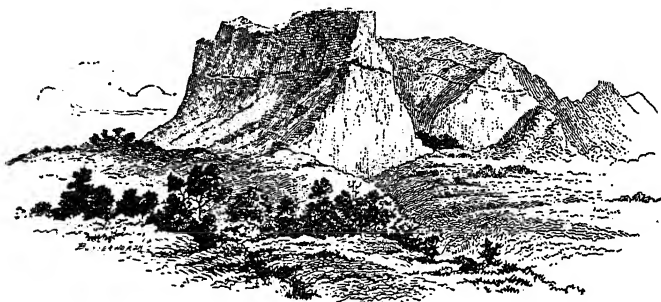
boasted in open *darbār* that he would bring in 'the mountain rat,' alive or dead, and set forth with a large and well-appointed army. Śivājī persuaded him to meet him without escort under the walls of the Partābgarh fort. The Marāthā approached in seeming humility, but as Afzal Khān stooped to raise him, Śivājī tore him down with the terrible 'tiger's claws' concealed in his hand, and slew

him with his consecrated Bhavānī sword. The Marāthā army, which was lying in ambush, arose and fell upon the Bijāpuris, who were seized with a panic and fled away, leaving all their camp equipment in the hands of the enemy. After several further defeats the Sultān of Bijāpur was compelled to recognise Śivājī as the ruler of a strip of western territory.

Aurangzib then interposed, and the third stage of the struggle commenced. Shāyista Khān and Jaswant Singh, Mahārāja of Jodhpur, were sent in 1663 to reduce Śivājī, but they made no progress in their difficult task. Shāyista Khān almost lost his life at Poona, where two hundred Marāthās, who had been admitted into the town as a wedding party, broke through the kitchen into the palace by night and only just failed to slay the Mughal grandee. Probably Jaswant Singh, who had played the traitor more than once in his life, was only half-hearted in his efforts against the Marāthās and kept none too vigilant watch and ward. Next morning he received the significant rebuke from Shāyista Khān, "I thought the Mahārāja was in His Majesty the Emperor's service, when such an evil befell me." In 1664 Śivājī performed an exploit, not more daring, but more profitable, than the Poona escapade. He swooped down on Surāt, and carried off the wealth of its merchants, though the Dutch and the English, under Sir George Oxindon, succeeded in holding off the Marāthās from their factories.

More formidable armaments were now prepared for the campaign in the Deccan. Diler Khān was sent with Jai Singh to curb the audacity of Śivājī. They invested Purandhar closely and even threatened Raigarh, which was now the seat of Śivājī's government. For some reason or other he made his submission to the Emperor, and consented to surrender twenty of his forts and to take service against the Ādil Shāh, asking in return for a recognition of his right to *chaauth* in some districts of the Bijāpur kingdom. In the following year (1666) Śivājī was persuaded to go to the Court at Delhi, being assured that high honours—even the viceroyalty of the Deccan—were awaiting him there,

but he was received coldly and treated with so little respect in *darbār* that he is said to have addressed bold words of reproach to the Emperor. Aurangzib said nothing, but took action. Next day Śivājī found himself a prisoner in his house. He escaped from confinement in a basket that was supposed to be full of sweetmeats and fruits for the Brāhmans of Mathurā, and, disguised as an ascetic, soon found his way back to his native hills. Here he recovered rapidly most of what he had lost or given up. A third army was sent against him under Prince Muazzam, who had been appointed Sūbahdār of the Deccan. The Viceroy, with Aurangzib's consent, entered



RAIGARH FORT

into a treaty with Śivājī. The title of Rāja was granted to him, his son was made a Mansabdār of Five Thousand, and a *jāgīr* in the Birārs was given to Śivājī in settlement of his claims to *chauth* in the Ahmadnagar territories.

In 1669 the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda agreed to pay Śivājī annual subsidies of three and five lakhs respectively in satisfaction of his demands upon them. Then war with the Mughals broke out afresh, and was carried on for several years. Śivājī captured many more forts and extended his territories. In 1671 he plundered Surāt a second time. The Mughal districts of Khāndesh and Birār were over-run and laid under tribute; while in the south the Rāja of Bednur was coerced into paying an annual subsidy.

Thus, Śivāji's affairs prospering everywhere, he decided to formally assume the title of king and ascend the throne. The coronation ceremony took place in 1674 at Raigarh, and was celebrated with great pomp and universal rejoicing in the Marāthā country. Śivāji reigned for six years, dying a comparatively young man in 1680. The chief event of this last or fourth period of his life was an expedition to South India. He penetrated as far as Tanjore, and established strong military posts along the road, of which Vellore and Jinji were the two most important.

Śivāji had some of the genius of an organiser of government as well as that of a soldier. It had been common for the Marāthā yeomen to work for half the year upon their fields, while they spent the dry season in the saddle on active service, returning laden with plunder to their ancestral villages on the burst of the monsoon. Śivāji attempted to improve this system and to check some of its abuses. During the rains the regular troopers were provided with quarters for themselves and their horses, and they drew pay for four months from the Treasury. They were expected to maintain themselves during the remaining eight months by the collection of *chauth* and *sardeśmukhī*. The commander was required to keep and render a strict account of all collections and loot. The majority of the military officers were of the Marāthā caste, but there was an admixture of Brāhmans and Parbhus.

To understand the system of the revenue collection and general civil administration we must remember the distinction made between the *Svarājya* and *Moglai* territory. The former was the country proper of the Marāthās and was fully administered by them. The latter was foreign territory, over which the Marāthās claimed suzerainty and from which they exacted the yearly payment of *chauth* and *sardeśmukhī*, leaving the administration in the hands of the local rulers. In the *Svarājya* Śivāji did not follow the Mughal plan of giving away or farming out provincial revenues. The hill fort was the centre of each District (*Prānt*), and its commandant with his civil and military staff was the

Governor of the District. Most of the revenue officials were Brāhmans, appointed directly by the central Government, and all collections were remitted to the State Treasury along with the accounts.

The Rāja was assisted by the Council of Eight, the *Ashṭapradhānā*, at the head of which sat the Peshwā or Prime Minister. Śivājī did not recognise hereditary rights to the great offices of State ; and he attempted to preserve a balance of castes both in military and civil appointments. The Council itself had but a short life ; it was little more than a name after Śivājī's time, and the better features of his system of government disappeared very quickly.

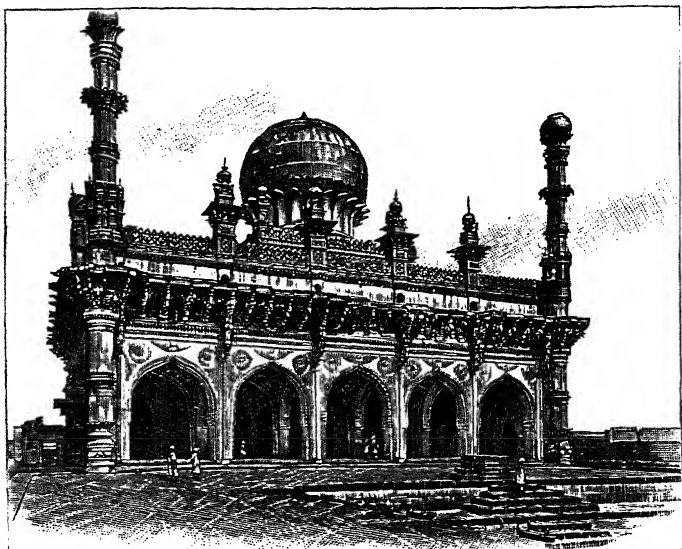
Chauth, or one-quarter, and *Sardeśmukhi*, or one-tenth of the revenue, were demanded from the territories conquered by the Marāthās as the collector's commission and an acknowledgment of Marāthā suzerainty, much as the Delhi Emperor expected from the provincial governors an annual subsidy amounting to one-fifth, or thereabouts, of the total revenue of their provinces. If this tribute was withheld, the Marāthās were ready to collect it by force. In the first grant made by Aurangzib for *chauth* in Mughal territory Śivājī undertook to preserve order in the districts assigned to him and to maintain a force of cavalry for the imperial service. In later times *chauth* became a simple exaction of tribute by superior strength without the rendering in return of any political service whatsoever. It was paid by the weaker States, not as the equivalent of the protection afforded by a guardian, but as blackmail—the cost of keeping a robber at a distance.

The Musalmān chroniclers themselves bear witness to the virtues of Śivājī. It is related that he never failed to show respect to Mosques and the Sacred Book. The lives and honour of the women and children, who fell into his hands, were safe ; and he did not allow his troopers to make slaves of their prisoners of war. He was bold, active, and resourceful, alike in fighting and diplomacy. But in his case, too, it has to be said that treachery and murder blacken the record of his life.

Such then was the state of affairs in the Deccan, when Aurangzib made peace with the Rājputs and gathered

together his Grand Army at Ahmadnagar. Śivājī was just dead and his son, Sambhājī, had succeeded to his throne. Aurangzib was bent upon the subjugation of the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan. It was a foolish and false policy. The right course for the Emperor would have been to have united the Muhammadan powers in an

**Fall of
Bijapur and
Golkonda**

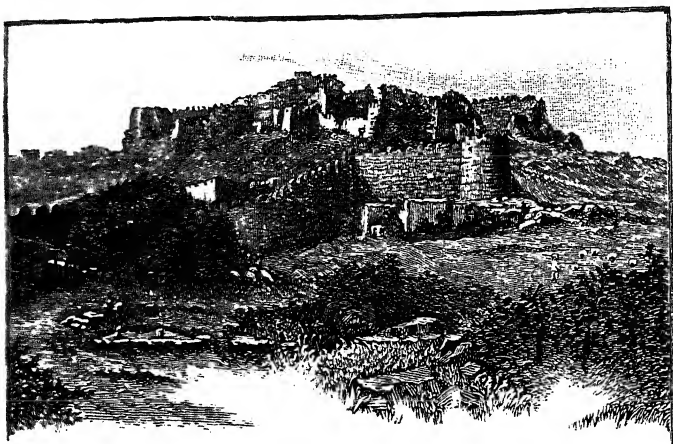


MOSQUE AT BIJAPUR

effort against the Marāthās; and Aurangzib found to his cost that, when he had taken Bījāpur and Golkonda out of the way, he had left the field clear for the Marāthās. His hatred of the Shīa Sultāns destroyed the two bulwarks of Muhammadan rule in the south.

In 1685 the siege of Bījāpur was formed, and the Emperor pressed on the operations against the doomed city. It was starved into surrender at last, and with its fall the reign of the Ādil Shāhs came to an end (1686). There remained now the Sultān of Golkonda.

To the offence of being Shīa he added that of living as a profligate and leaving the management of his kingdom to his Brāhman ministers. Nothing could shake Aurangzīb's determination to end his misrule. Abul-Hasan showed more kingliness in the manner of his losing the crown than in his wearing of it. He withdrew to Golkonda and made ready to stand a seige. The resistance offered was long and desperate, and Aurangzīb's troops were reduced to the direst straits. They were short of supplies: for the season was bad and the Marāthā horse were snapping up convoys in their rear. The garrison



GOLKONDA FORT

made resolute sallies from the fort and spread death in the besiegers' lines. A heavy rain washed away works that had been raised with great labour. But Aurangzīb stood firm and declared that he would never desist, till the Kutb Shāh was brought vanquished and suppliant before him. Money and treachery accomplished at last, what force failed to effect. Some of Abul-Hasan's chief officers were bribed to admit the enemy by a wicket-gate, and the Sultān was sent as a prisoner to Daulatābād (1687). The dreary story of this siege is relieved by one example of valour and fidelity. Aurangzīb's most tempting offers

were spread in vain before Abdur Razzāk. When he heard the victorious shout of the incoming enemy, he rushed to the gateway and fought till he fell, seemingly lifeless and covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. "Had Abul-Hasan had but two such servants," said Aurangzīb, "his fortress could never have been taken."

Aurangzīb annexed the territories of the fallen kingdoms to the extremest south. His generals reached Tanjore, and thus for a moment he appeared to be the Lord Paramount of the whole of the Indian peninsula—from Kābul to Chittagong and from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. But it was a hollow show of success; the Empire was rotten to the core and its downfall was near at hand.

Aurangzīb's first campaigns against the Marāthās in 1682 and 1683 had ended in total failure. The troops

**The Struggle
with the
Marathas**

were wasted by fever in the malarious jungles, or cut to pieces by watchful and mobile enemies upon the hill-sides or in the defiles. After the conquest of Bījāpur and Golkonda, the Emperor was free to give his whole attention to the Marāthās. Sambhājī proved an unworthy successor to his father. He was dissolute and tyrannical, and was surprised and captured in 1689 by a Mughal general in his pleasure-house at Sangamesvar on the Ghāts, whither he had resorted with his women to bathe and drink wine. As Aurangzīb saw his enemy brought in, he descended from his elephant and, bowing his head twice to the ground, gave thanks to God, who had showed him this signal favour. Sambhājī and his evil minister, Kalusha, so reviled the Emperor that he commanded their tongues to be cut out; themselves to be done to death with torture, and their stuffed heads to be sent round the cities of the Deccan. This success was followed by the capture of Raigarh and Sambhājī's son, Śāhū, who was detained for many years at Delhi.

If Aurangzīb supposed that he had broken the back of the Marāthā resistance by the capture of the Rāja, he was quickly undeceived. The Marāthās had learnt their lesson too well. Rājārām, brother of Sambhājī, placed

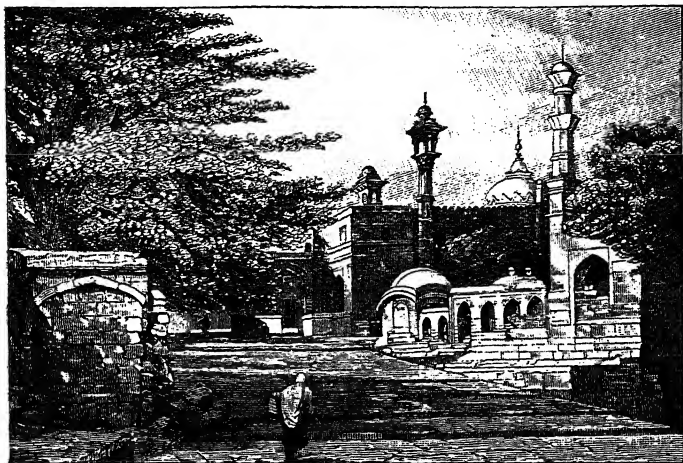
himself at their head; and, though Aurangzib sent Zulfi-kar Khān to besiege him in the southern fortress of Jinjī, the Mughal General had a secret understanding with the enemy and prolonged the siege to suit his own convenience. At last, when he could delay no longer, he allowed Rājarām to escape before taking the fort. Rājarām lived only a few years, but after his death his widow, Tārābai, became the leader of the Marāthās and carried on the struggle with rare spirit and ability.

The aged Emperor marched and counter-marched his divisions, taking fort after fort only to lose them again. The military virtue of the Mughals was gone. Some of the generals played with the foe, finding it to their profit to draw pay on a war footing for troops which existed nowhere save on their muster rolls; or, if they ventured to give battle, they were surrounded by swarms of light horse and defeated with the loss of all their equipment. In vain Aurangzib exposed himself at the sieges and sought to fire his soldiers with his own zeal. The Grand Army was totally demoralised. The Amīrs were pining for the ease and luxury of Agra and Delhi. The rank and file disregarded the order that they should leave their families at home. The army was encumbered by a host of useless camp-followers, who ate up the country wherever they moved. Simple and few as were the personal wants of Aurangzib, he had to maintain the state of the Great Mughal; and his imperial tents reproduced in canvas the magnificence of the Court at Delhi. The luxurious Mughal cavalier with his heavy baggage-train was no match for the hardy Marāthā horseman, carrying a cake of millet at his saddle-bow. Sātārā was captured with difficulty in 1700, but the later conquests of the forts were effected only by a plentiful use of money; and at last such a pass was reached that it was dangerous for a Mughal to go more than a mile or two out of the imperial camp. Meanwhile in the north the Jāts and Sikhs were in open rebellion.

Amidst discouragements such as these, Aurangzib was nearing his end. His sons were intriguing for the throne that must soon fall vacant. The Emperor feared

for himself and for his best-loved son, Kām Bakhsh. He judged it best to part the rivals, and Prince Muazzam (Shāh Ālam) was sent far north to Kābul; while shortly before the close of Aurangzib's reign, feeling death coming upon him, he appointed Kām Bakhsh to Bijāpur and Azam Shāh to Mālwa. To Azam Shāh he wrote:—"I am grown very old and weak. Many were around me, when I was born; but now I am going alone. I know not why I am or wherefore I came into the world. I have not done well

**The
Death of
Aurangzib**



AURANGZIB'S BURIAL-PLACE AT ROZA

for the country or its people. God has been in my heart; yet my darkened eyes have not recognised His light. There is no hope for one in the future. The fever is gone, but nothing is left of me save skin and dried flesh. The army is confounded and without heart or help, even as I am. Nothing brought I into this world, but I carry away with me the burden of my sins... Though my trust is in the mercy and goodness of God, I deplore my sins. Come what will, I have launched my bark upon the waters.... Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!"

The remnant of the army was brought back into Ahmadnagar, where in the eighty-eighth year of his age the Emperor passed away after reciting his morning prayers and the creed. He had given command to the Chief Kāzī, "Carry this creature of dust quickly to the first burial place, and lay him in the earth without any useless coffin." No mausoleum was reared above the Puritan Emperor. He was laid away beside the tomb of his favourite saint at Roza near Daulatābād, and a plain slab of stone covers all that is mortal of him.

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- 1526 BABAR ascends the throne after the
victory of Pānīpat.
 - 1527 Rājputs defeated at Kanvāha.
 - 1530 HUMAYUN ascends the throne.
 - 1536 Campaign in Mālhwā against Bahā-
dur.
 - 1539 Sher Khān defeats Humāyūn at
Chaunsā.
 - 1540 Battle of Ganges, flight of Humāyūn :
SHER KHAN ascends the throne.
 - 1545-54 Islām Shāh reigns.
 - 1555 Defeat of Sikandar Sūr at Sirhind :
Humāyūn resumes sway.
 - 1556 AKBAR succeeds to throne : defeat of
Himū at Pānīpat.
 - 1560 Dismissal of Bairam Khān.
 - 1560-62 Subjugation of Jaunpur, Mālhwā, and
Khāndesh.
 - 1562 Abolition of *jizya* : marriage of
Akbar to Jaipur princess.
 - 1567 Fall of Chitor.
 - 1572-84 Subjugation of Gujarāt.
 - 1575-90 Subjugation of Bengal and Orissa.
 - 1587 Subjugation of Kashmīr ; 1592, of
Sindh ; 1594 of Kandahār.
 - 1589 Death of Todar Mal.
 - 1595 Chānd Bibī successfully defends Ah-
madnagar against Mughals.
 - 1599 Capture of Ahmadnagar.
 - 1600 Capture of Āsīgarh.
 - 1602 Death of Abul-Fazl
 - 1605 JAHANGIR succeeds to throne.
 - 1607-11 Hawkins in India.
 - 1614 Rāna Amra surrenders.
 - 1615-18 Sir Thomas Roe at Mughal Court.
 - 1616 Shāh-jahān takes command against
Malik Ambar.
- 1600 English
East-India Com-
pany formed.

1602 Dutch com
pany formed.

CHRONOLOGY OF MUGHAL EMPIRE (Contd.)

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|---------|--|--|
| 1624 | Shāh-jahān rebels. | |
| 1627 | SHAH-JAHAN succeeds to throne. | 1627 Birth of Sivājī. |
| 1629 | Death of Malik Ambar. | |
| 1631 | Destruction of Portuguese settlement at Hūglī. | |
| 1637 | Nizām Shāh dynasty extinguished. | 1639 English acquire Madras. |
| 1655-57 | Aurangzīb, Viceroy of the Deccan : in league with Mīr Jumlā. | |
| 1658 | Battle of Samūgarh: accession of AURANGZIB. | 1657-62 Sivājī's conflict with Bijāpur. |
| 1659-67 | Bernier in India. | 1664 Colbert's French Company formed. |
| 1663 | Jaswant Singh and Shāyista Khān attempt to reduce Sivājī. | 1664 Sivājī loots Surāt. |
| 1665 | Sivājī surrenders to Jai Singh and Diler Khān. | 1666 Sivājī goes to Court. |
| 1666 | Shāyista Khān suppresses Chittagong Pirates. | 1668 E. I. Company occupies Bombay. |
| | | 1671 Sivājī loots Surāt again. |
| 1672 | Satnāmis revolt. | 1674 SIVAJI'S coronation. |
| 1676 | Jizya reimposed. | 1680 Sivājī's death: SAMBHAJI succeeds. |
| 1679-81 | War with the Rājputs. | |
| 1686 | Fall of Bijāpur. | |
| 1687 | Fall of Golkonda. | |
| 1686-90 | War with the English. | 1690 English settle at Calcutta. |
| 1689 | Capture of Sambhājī. | 1689 RAJARAM succeeds to Sambhājī. |
| 1700 | Aurangzīb takes Sātārā. | 1700 Death of Rājārām. Tārābai becomes Regent. |
| 1707 | Death of Aurangzīb. | |

CHAPTER XIII

The Decline of the Mughal Empire and Rise of the Maratha Confederacy

Aurangzib was the last 'Great Mughal,' and the decay of the Empire went on with startling rapidity after his death. It is a story which may be told in very few words, for it contains little of political interest or value. In the midst of the treacherous plots and sordid intrigues of the nobles at Court the power of the Emperor wasted away to a shadow; while the external foes, who encroached upon his provinces and snatched them, one by one from his feeble grasp, were the captains of the Marāthā horse.

The Decline of the Mughal Empire: A.D. 1707-1857.—We will first pass in brief review the history of the last kings of Delhi. The strife among his sons, which **Bahadur Shah : 1707-1712** Aurangzib had foreseen, broke out immediately he had passed away. His eldest son, Muazzam or Shāh Ālam, and Azam Shāh met in battle near Agra; and Shāh Ālam, having defeated and slain his brother, commenced to reign with the title of Bahādur Shāh. Zulfikār Khān, who had been Azam Shāh's chief supporter, now entered the service of his successful rival. He was employed against Kām Bakhsh. The prince rejected all overtures of peace, but was easily put out of the way, being surrounded and mortally wounded.

The new Emperor attempted to restore order in the troubled regions of the north. The Rājputs were induced to make a show of submission; but the Sikhs, who had now become a numerous sect with a military organisation recruited from the cultivators of the Panjāb, were not disposed of so easily. Their bands were out everywhere in the north, plundering and burning the towns and villages and taking vengeance upon the Musalmāns, who had persecuted them with such ferocity in former

years. Bahādur was unable to suppress them; but in the time of his successor, Farrukh Siyar, the Guru, Banda, was captured with many of his followers. After being exhibited in a cage at Delhi, he was tortured to death.*

Had Bahādur lived, it is possible that he might have staved off the impending ruin for a few years, but he was already an old man and he died in 1712,

Jahandar :
1712-1713 leaving four sons to dispute the succession.

Three of them were slain, and the survivor Jahāndār ascended the throne. He was a profligate prince, who disgusted even his corrupt court and the degenerate populace of Delhi with his debaucheries; and when Farrukh Siyar, a grandson of Aurangzib, marched from Bengal, he had no difficulty in routing the large, but disaffected, imperial army. Jahāndār and Zulfikār Khān, the Wazīr, were both put to death and Farrukh Siyar was proclaimed Emperor.

The principal supporters of his cause were two Sayyid brothers, Abdullā Khān and Husain Alī Khān. The

former became Wazīr and for several years
Farrukh Siyar :
1713-1719 the administration was in his hands. The

Emperor, though addicted to evil pleasures and without capacity for managing public affairs, was jealous of his powerful ministers, and encouraged his nobles to plot against them. He attempted to separate them by appointing Husain Alī Khān to the *sūbahdārī* of the Deccan; while he sent secret instructions to Dā'ūd Khān, Viceroy of Gujarāt, to intercept the Sayyid on the march and, if possible, to slay him. The conspiracy failed; for Dā'ūd Khān, in trying to carry out his orders, was worsted in the fight and lost his own life. Husain Alī, knowing of his brother's peril at Delhi, came to an understanding with the Marāthās under their first Peshwā, Viśvanāth Rao, and accompanied by these allies he returned to the capital. The Emperor was murdered, and finally Muhammad Shāh,

* The founder of the Sikh religion was Nānak (1469-1539). After Akbar's death the Sikhs began to be persecuted, and they gradually developed into a political body, of which the Guru was ruler. Their Guru, Arjun, the compiler of the Sikh Sacred Book—the *Adi Granth*—was put to death in 1606. Govind, the tenth Guru, organised the Sikhs as a military brotherhood. He was killed in 1708 and was succeeded by Banda, who was executed seven years later.

grandson of Bahādur, was set up in his place after two other youthful princes had been taken out of prison and enthroned by the Sayyid king-makers and had died within a few months of each other.

Muhammad Shāh reigned in name for nearly thirty years. He was as anxious to get rid of the Sayyids as his predecessor had been. After a while

**Muhammad
Shah :
1719-1748**

Husain Alī departed for the south to recover the Deccan from Chīn Kalich Khān, better known by his Mughal title of Nizām-ul-Mulk — 'the Pillar of the State.' The Sayyid carried the

Emperor with him for safe custody; but on the march he was assassinated, and Muhammad Shāh was brought forth from confinement and set at the head of the army. He returned to Delhi, where Abdullā Khān had put another puppet on the throne and collected an army to defend the usurper's title. A battle was fought at Shāhpur, which ended in a victory for Muhammad. Sayyid Abdullā was thrown into prison where he died, and Nizām-ul-Mulk became Wazir of the Empire. He soon returned, however, in disgust to his territories in the Deccan.



NIZAM-UL-MULK

By this time the Delhi government had ceased to exercise a central control. While the Viceroys of the great provinces made a profession of allegiance to the Emperor and were glad to receive from him patents of office and dresses of honour, they were really independent;

and some of them became the founders of new ruling dynasties. Shujā-ud-dīn and after him, Alivardī Khān held Bengal and Orissa; at Lucknow Sa'adat Khān started the line of the Nawābs of Oudh; in the Deccan Nizām-ul-Mulk became practically independent as early as 1720, and his house continues to this day, ruling over the territories known as the Nizām's Dominions.

Meanwhile the Marāthās under the able Bājī Rao were extending their conquests northwards. Gujarāt and Mālwa were over-run and placed under Marāthā chieftains: and after several evasions the Emperor was compelled to recognise the accomplished fact and make a formal cession of the revenue of these Provinces.

The invasion of Nādir Shāh in 1739 was an overwhelming calamity. This monarch rose from a humble

station to exercise rule over all Persia and Afghānistān, and he could not resist the temptation to invade the weak and tottering Empire of the Mughals. All available troops were collected to oppose his advance; but there was bitter jealousy and division among the Mughal leaders. Sa'adat Khān gave the invader battle near Karnāl, but he was defeated and taken prisoner. A story is told that Nizām-ul-mulk, who had held aloof, now entered into negotiations with Nādir Shāh and persuaded him to retire on a payment of two crores of rupees; but Sa'adat Khān, jealous of the favour that the Nizām enjoyed with the Emperor as a consequence of this diplomatic success, urged Nādir Shāh to continue his march to Delhi, where he would find booty worth ten times as much.* The Persian pushed on to the capital; and, a rumour that he had been assassinated having spread abroad, the people fell upon some of his soldiers and slew them. The troops stood to their arms all night, and next morning the ruthless king gave the word for the city to be sacked. A countless multitude of the inhabitants perished before Nādir Shāh stayed the

* This story rests upon doubtful testimony; but it illustrates the feud between the parties of Tūrān and Irān. Nizām-ul-Mulk, a Sunni Turk, belonged to the former; and Sa'adat Khān, a Shīa, belonged to the latter. The Pathāns, or Indian Musalmāns of Afghān descent, including the Rohillas, were another element, siding at times with the party of Irān, although they were Sunnis in religion.

hands of his men from plunder and massacre. The loot included the Peacock Throne, and the famous diamond, the *Koh-i-Nūr*, or "Mountain of Light." Muhammad Shāh was suffered to remain upon his throne—a powerless king in a capital reduced to beggary.

Muhammad Shāh was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Shāh. The chief events of his reign were the intrigues carried on by Imād-ul-Mulk, better known by his father's title of Ghāzi-ud-dīn.

He was the grandson of Nizām-ul-Mulk; and after supplanting his benefactor, Safdar Jang, he became Wazir of the Empire. He presently caused Ahmad to be deposed and blinded, and set up Ālamgīr II, the son of Jahāndār, in his place.

On the death of Nādir Shāh his kingdom had been divided. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, an Afghan of the Herat district, had secured the Afghan portion, and had annexed the Panjāb and the country



NADIR SHAH

around Mūltān besides. In the absence of the Amīr, who had left the government of Lahore in the hands of a widow, Ghāzi-ud-dīn succeeded in making the lady a prisoner and placing his own creature in charge of the city. Shāh Abdālī returned to India to avenge the insult, and Delhi was sacked again in 1757. The Amīr appointed the Pathān, Najīb-ud-daula, prime minister. Ghāzi-ud-dīn, who had taken refuge in flight, waited until the Afghan

Ālamgīr II:
1754-1759

king's back was turned, and then called in the Marāthās under Raghobā, or Raghunāth Rao, the brother of the then reigning Peshwā. With their aid he reinstated himself at Delhi, put Ālamgīr to death, and set on the throne a son of Kām Bakhsh. The Marāthās found themselves a second time in the proud position of king-makers at the capital of the Mughal Empire; but Raghunāth Rao was not satisfied with this honour. He carried the Marāthā arms into the Panjāb, expelled the Afghan governor from Lahore, and left a Marāthā garrison there. Thus the perfidious intrigues of Ghāzi-ud-dīn brought about the loss to the Mughal Emperor of his last remaining provinces, while the ambition of the Marāthā leader led up to that disaster, which is a turning-point in the history of the Marāthā Confederacy. Ghāzi-ud-dīn wished to crush his enemies and rivals, the Rohillas, with the help of his Marāthā allies. In their peril the Rohilla chieftains appealed to the Afghan king; but Shāh Abdālī needed no call, for he was already on the march towards Delhi. Two strong Marāthā detachments under Dattājī Sindhe and Holkar were defeated by him with heavy loss, and great alarm was felt by the Marāthās.

Ghāzi-ud-dīn, after his manner, did not wait to meet the danger, but found sanctuary with the Jāt Rāja of Bharatpur. When the main Marāthā army came up from the south, Shāh Ālam was recognised as Pādshā: but since he was absent in the east carrying on a contest with the Nawāb of Bengal, his son, Jawān Bakht, was put on the throne as his representative. Then followed the dreadful carnage of Pānīpat in 1761 and the retreat of the Marāthās to the south. The Pathān, Najib-ud-daula, was appointed by Shāh Abdālī to administer affairs at Delhi with Jawān Bakht as deputy Pādshā.

After the battle of Baksār (1764) Shāh Ālam took refuge with the British, and resided until 1771 at Allahābād, living on the handsome allowances made to him by the East-India Company. Then he listened to the overtures of the Marāthās, and was carried off to Delhi by Mādhoji Sindhe. He took with him his Persian minister, Najaf Khān, and a bitter rivalry ensued between the Rohilla

Shah Alam :
1759-1806

and Persian parties at Court. In 1784, on Najaf Khān's death, Mādhojī obtained from the Emperor the title of Imperial Wazīr for the Peshwā, and also caused himself to be recognised as the Peshwā's Deputy. The infamous ruffian, Ghulām Kādir, grandson of Najīb-ud-daula, found the Emperor helpless in 1788 in the absence of his Marāthā protector, who was away fighting a confederacy of Rājputs and other enemies. The princes and princesses of the imperial household were shamefully maltreated, and the eyes of the Emperor were torn out. The returning Marāthās inflicted on Ghulām Kādir a death scarcely less barbarous than the atrocities he had perpetrated on others. At last in 1804 General Lake found the aged and blind Shāh Ālam in Delhi—a pitiable wreck of sovereignty. There he lived for three years longer, a pensioner on the bounty of the British.

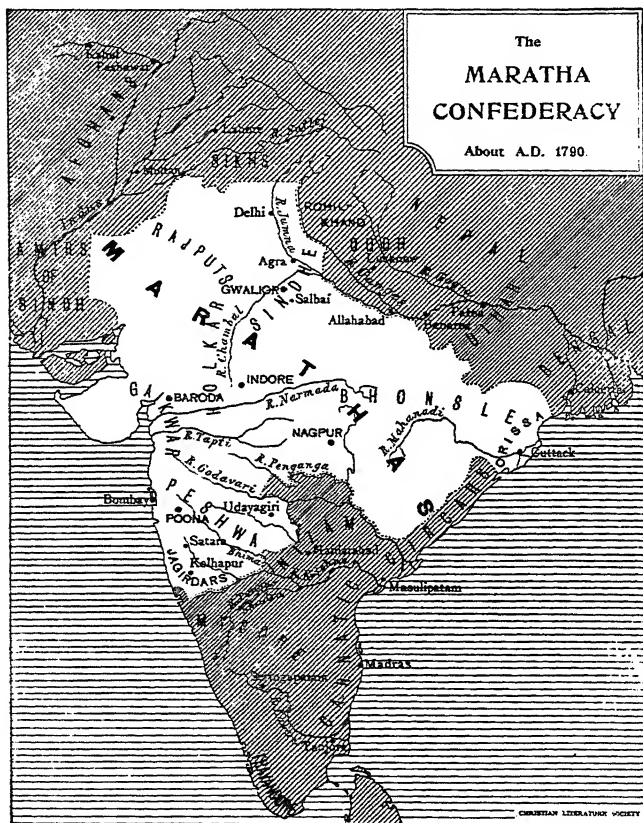
His son was Akbar II, by whom the title of 'King of Delhi' was borne till 1837. Akbar's son, Bahādur, was made the figure-head of the Mutiny in 1857. He died in 1862 at Rangoon, whither he had been deported, and with him ceased for a time the name of the Empire of Delhi: the substance of power had long departed.

THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY.—We must now review in greater detail the history of that other Empire, the good fortunes of which waxed as those of the Mughals waned. We have already traced the rise of the Marāthā power under Śivājī, and have seen that in the reign of his unworthy son, Sambhājī, it suffered a set-back for a time. After the capture and death of Sambhājī, first his brother, Rājarām, and then Rājarām's widow, Tārābai, placed themselves at the head of the Marāthā nation.

At the time of Aurangzīb's death Śāhū, the son of Sambhājī, was still in captivity. He had been brought up at the Muhammadan Court and was married, with Aurangzīb's consent, to Marāthā brides. Azam Shāh thought it politic to release him, and sent him towards Sātārā to claim his father's throne. Several of the great Marāthā chiefs gathered to the support of his cause, but Tārābai refused to acknowledge him and denounced him as a pretender.

Sahu:
1708-1749

She was worsted, however, in the struggle and retired to Kolhāpur, where her idiot son, Śivājī II, was recognised as the lawful Rāja by her partisans, until he died in 1712.



Thereupon Sambhājī II, a son of Rājarām by another wife, was set upon the throne.

Śāhū had none of the fire and vigour of his grandfather. He had been too long a prisoner with the Mughals to make a great leader of the Marāthās

Enthroned at Sātārā he was content to leave war and statecraft to his Marāthā generals and Brāhman ministers. The honours of kingship and the pleasures of the palace and field sufficed for him. Thus the way was open for the change, which was shortly to take place in the headship of the Marāthā Empire. The sceptre passed from the hands of the Rāja into the hands of his prime minister, the Peshwā. The first of the line of Peshwās was Bālāji Viśvanāth Rao. This Brāhman, after being in the service of a famous Marāthā captain, Dhanāji Jādao, and subsequently of his son, won the first place in the kingdom by his suppression of a rebellious vassal and his successful negotiations with the pirate chieftain, Āngre, on the West Coast. His predecessor in the office of Peshwā had failed miserably in a campaign against the corsair, and had been taken prisoner, when Bālāji came to the rescue.

The two noteworthy features of his term of office are his march to Delhi and his financial system, which laid anew the foundations of the Marāthā Empire. It will be remembered that the Sayyid, Husain Alī, called in the Marāthās, and with their aid deposed Farrukh Siyar and set Muhammad Shāh upon the throne. Bālāji received as a reward for his services on this occasion an imperial grant of the *sardeśmukhī* and *chauth* in the six sūbahs of the Deccan—Khāndesh, Aurangābād, Bīrār, Bīdar, Bījāpur, and Haidarābād. Thus the Marāthās obtained at last a legal title to what they had been claiming for many years.

Viśvanāth died shortly after his return to the Deccan, but not before he had drawn up that scheme of dividing and sharing the revenues, which united the various leaders, Brāhman and Marāthā, in a common financial interest and held the Confederacy together for many years. The *sardeśmukhī* and 34 per cent. of the *chauth* were to be assigned to the Rāja as his share or to his nominees; while the *mokāsa*, or remaining 66 per cent., was set apart for the various leaders on condition of their maintaining a stipulated number of horse. It should be added that, as the power of the Peshwā grew, the Rāja's share was reduced

Balaji Visvanath Rao :
1714-1720

The March to Delhi

The Financial System of the Confederacy

to a fixed allowance, and the bulk of the royal revenues was appropriated by the Peshwā and administered by him as his own. The system of partition was very elaborate and intricate, and made necessary the employment of a large Brāhman clerical staff. The *jāgīrs* and provinces allotted to the various chieftains were so mixed up that each one had some interest in every part of the Marāthā dominion. "We Marāthās believe," said one of them, "in having a finger in every pie." This plan was a departure from Śivāji's revenue system, inasmuch as it alienated the revenues of many districts from the State. It also did away with the direct collection of the taxes by the officials of the central Government and the payment of all amounts realised into the State Treasury, from which the generals and soldiers alike had been supposed to draw their wages. Bālāji's system was successful for a while, because it encouraged every leader to further exertions by offering him a definite share in new conquests, and it was made advantageous to all to keep what had been won. This bond of union, however, was of a mercenary kind; and it marks the passing of the Marāthā power from a patriotic into a predatory organisation.

Upon Bālāji's death his son, Bāji Rao, succeeded him, and thus the office became hereditary. Bāji Rao was probably the ablest of the Peshwās, and certainly he was the best soldier of them all.

His activity and abilities caused the Rāja to retire still more into the background. The story is told that Nizām-ul-Mulk sent an artist to the Peshwā's camp to paint his portrait. He returned with a picture of Bāji Rao seated in his saddle, "with the head and heel ropes of his horse in his feeding-bag like that of a common Marāthā, his spear resting upon his shoulder, whilst he was rubbing with both hands some ears of ripened *jawāri*, which he was eating as he rode." A Brāhman by birth, he embraced and performed the duties of a Kshatriya.

The Peshwā was in favour of a bold forward policy. Some of the Mahārāja's councillors warned him that the rival States of Kolhāpur and Haidarābād threatened danger from the south and east, and they pointed out that in the Carnātic there were easy conquests nearer

home waiting to be effected; but Bājī Rao was for penetrating to the very centre of the Mughal Empire. "Strike at the trunk," he said, "and the withered branches will fall of themselves." He had, however, first to settle with his neighbour in the east. Nizām-ul-mulk tried to stir up strife between Kolhāpur and Sātārā, and after that had failed, to play upon the growing jealousy between the Marāthās and the Brāhmans. When he forsook craft and resorted to force of arms, he was hemmed in and compelled to submit to the Peshwā's terms.

The miserable quarrels among the Mughal governors had let in the Marāthās into the province of Gujarāt, and the *Senāpati*, Trimbak Rao Dābhāde, was the most powerful Marāthā chieftain in that region. He was jealous of the Peshwā's influence, and resented his meddling with the revenues of Gujarāt, which he regarded as his own. The Peshwā overthrew and slew him in battle near Baroda in 1731, and, having settled affairs in Gujarāt, was free for the advance northward. In the following year the Marāthā horse poured into Mālwā and over-ran the province; but all the Peshwā's efforts to get a formal grant of *chauth* in Gujarāt and Mālwā were in vain, though his troopers showed themselves under the very walls of Delhi in 1736. Muhammad Shāh, who saw his Empire being thus torn from him limbmeal, had been appealing for a long time to Nizām-ul-mulk to come to his aid. At last in 1738 the Nizām made extensive military preparations and arrived at Delhi with a large army. He was particularly strong in artillery, which retarded his marches and made him wish to bring the Marāthās to a pitched battle. They, on the other hand, followed their usual guerilla tactics; and rather than abandon his guns, the Nizām entrenched himself under the walls of Bhopāl. Here, fearing to come out and boldly attack his troublesome foes, he allowed himself to be hemmed in and reduced by hunger. He only saved himself and his army by signing the Convention of Sironj, in which he promised to obtain from the Emperor a patent for the provinces of Gujarāt and Mālwā and to pay an indemnity of fifty lakhs to Bājī Rao, who was always in debt.

Meanwhile another Marāthā chieftain had given offence to the Peshwā. Raghojī Bhonsle was in charge of the Marāthā territory in Central India, but he had carried his arms as far north as Allahābād. Bājī Rao considered that all on the farther side of the Narmadā was his special sphere. He, therefore, directed his army against Raghojī; but open war was avoided by the two parties coming to an agreement (1739).

In the following year Bājī Rao died. Under his administration the authority of the Rāja and the Supreme Council, the *Ashtapradhānā*, was merely nominal. The Peshwā had become the real head of the State. The territories subject to the Marāthās were widely extended by inroads on the Mughal Empire, and the spoils of war were shared according to the system of partition introduced by Viśvanāth Bālājī Rao.

We must note also the rise into power of those captains who were to establish the Marāthā princely houses. We have mentioned already Raghojī Bhonsle, who was the founder of the kingdom of Nāgpur in the Central Provinces. Gujarāt was under Pilājī Gaikwār (*Gāyakhvād*)—the ancestor of the Gaikwārs of Baroda. Malhār Rao Holkar, the first of the Rājas of Indore, held Mālwā; while another officer, Rāņojī Sindhe occupied the regions to the north-east, and laid the foundation of the Marāthā kingdom of Gwālīor. The four leaders we have named were successful generals, to whom large revenues had been assigned in the out-lying parts of the Marāthā empire, and they took their orders from the Peshwā as the representative of the Mahārāja of Sātārā.

Bālājī Bājī Rao entered without serious opposition into the enjoyment of his father's honours. Sensual and gross though he was in his habit of life, he was

**Balaji Baji
Rao: 1740-1761**

not lacking in the ability to govern. As a rule he was content to let others do his fighting for him, while he directed public affairs from Poona. The administration of the home districts, or *Svarājya*, of the Marāthās was much improved in his time, the extortionate farmers of the revenues being removed and a system of direct collection by the State being substituted.

Bālāji Bāji Rao had a talent for intrigue, which found full scope for itself in 1749 as the Rāja Śāhū neared his end. The aged king was childless and had thought of making Sambhājī II of Kolhāpur his heir; but Tārābai brought forward a grandson, Rāma, from concealment, declaring that he was the son of the idiot, Śivājī II, born after his father's death. Sakwarbai, Śāhū's wife, had no desire to see Tārābai in power again as the grandmother of a weak prince; and she favoured, therefore, the succession of Sambhājī. After some hesitation the Peshwā joined the party of Tārābai; and he took care that Sakwarbai carried out her professed intention of performing *satī* on the death of Śāhū. He obtained from the dying and almost imbecile Rāja a document, which gave to him and his heirs the right to govern the whole Marāthā Empire on condition of preserving the royal dignity of the House of Śivājī. Thus the family of the Peshwā acquired a legal and hereditary title to the office which three of them had filled in succession.—A small *jāgīr* round Sātārā was assigned to the new Rāja, with a yearly allowance from the revenues of the State. The Peshwā stood forth as the real head of the Marāthā Confederacy and removed to Poona, which was henceforward the seat of government.

But Tārābai, the fiery old woman, was indignant that the house of Śivājī should be placed in a position of such inferiority and impotence. While the Peshwā was absent on an expedition against Salābat Jang—now the ruler of the Muhammadan Deccan in place of Nizām-ul-mulk, who died in 1748—she summoned Damājī Gaikwār from the north, and exhorted her grandson to make a bid for the throne. When he refused, she called him a base-born changeling and no true son of Śivājī's line, threw him into a dungeon of the fortress of Sātārā, and swore the garrison never to surrender. Bālāji Bāji Rao returned in haste from his wars to quell this danger at home. Damājī Gaikwār was easily disposed of and taken prisoner; but the Marāthā feeling was so strong on the side of Tārābai that Bāji Rao left her unmolested in her fort. Here she held the prince a prisoner and ruled over her territory, until she died in 1761

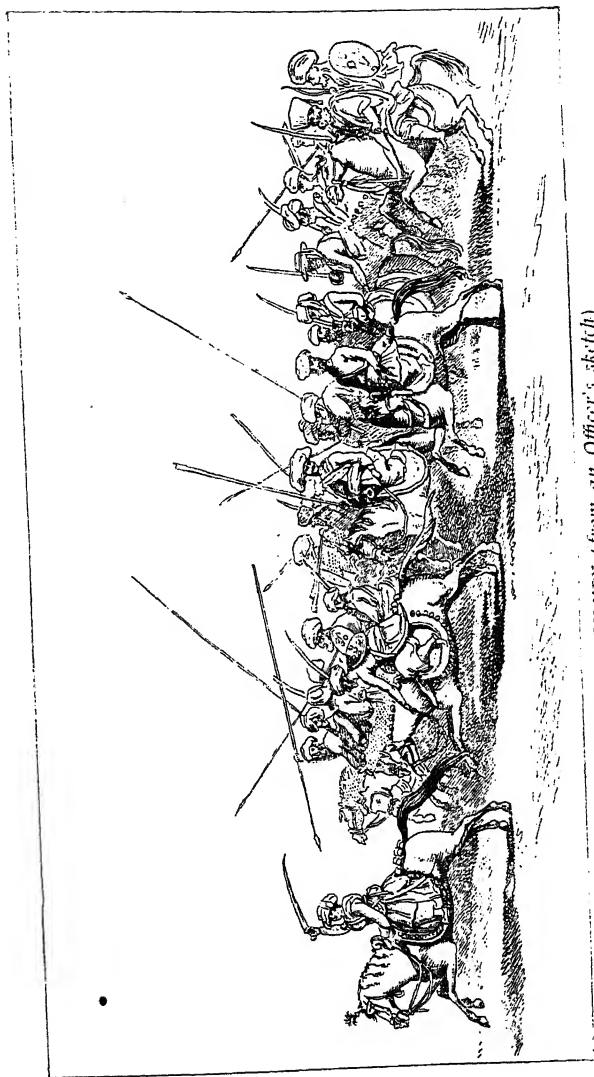
**Tarabai's
Revolt**

just after the battle of Pānīpat, rejoicing that she had lived long enough to see calamity fall upon her enemies.

Marāthā conquest went on its way during the reign of this Peshwā. The Emperor, Muhammad Shāh, besought Bālājī Bājī Rao to stop the ravages of Raghojī Bhonsle in the territories of the Bengal viceroy, Alivardī Khān. Accordingly the Peshwā marched eastward and took the armies of the Bhonsle chieftain in rear and flank, and defeated them. The Emperor rewarded him for this service by giving to him the patent for Mālhwā, which had long been sought and was promised by the Convention of Sironj, but never bestowed. Having gained his end, the Peshwā retired and troubled himself no further about Raghojī's proceedings. The country of Alivardī Khān was pillaged far and wide. In vain did the Bengal Nawāb plan and carry out a dastardly plot, through which Bhāskar Panth and a score of Marāthā officers who had been invited to an interview lost their lives. Alivardī Khān was glad to purchase peace in 1752 by ceding Orissa to Raghojī and promising to pay a tribute of ten lakhs for Bengal.

In the Deccan Nāsir Jang had yielded up territories to the Marāthās in the north-west of the province as the price of their support, when his elder brother, Ghāzī-ud-dīn, was laying claim to the throne of Haidarābād; but Salābat Jang suffered a much severer humiliation in 1760 when Śivadās Rao, the Peshwā's cousin, cut him off at Udayagiri from his main army and enforced the hard condition that Āsirgarh, Daulatābād, Aurangābād, Ahmadnagar, and Bijāpur should be surrendered to the Marāthās. These encroachments, together with the inroads made by Raghojī Bhonsle, reduced the Muhammadan State to the district around Haidarābād.

Revenue expeditions into Mysore and the Carnātic were carried out by the Peshwā, and in the north the Marāthās were not less busy. They were brought in to subdue the Rohillas in 1751, and, as we have already seen, Raghunāth Rao, the Peshwā's brother, led his army even into the Panjāb and installed a Marāthā governor and garrison at Lahore.



MARATHA HORSEMEN (*from an Officer's sketch*)

This last success had a fatal consequence. It roused the wrath of the Afghan king, Shāh Abdālī, and was followed by the battle of Pānīpat. The news of the defeats suffered by Dattājī Sindhe and Malhār Holkar and of the victor's march upon Delhi made a great stir in the Deccan.

**The Battle of
Panipat:
Jan. 7th, 1761**

Raghunāth Rao was sulking, because he had been taken to task for the cost of his expeditions which, though they brought glory to the Marāthās, instead of filling had emptied the treasury. Śivadās Rao was a leader of little military experience, but after his victory over Salābat Jang he imagined himself equal to any responsibility, and he was entrusted with the chief command. The Marāthā army now assembled was the most representative and magnificently equipped that had ever been sent forth; and, as Śivadās moved north to meet his adversary, he was joined by the other principal leaders with their contingents.

After spending some time at Delhi the Marāthās moved out to Pānīpat, and Śivadās Rao decided on the fatal plan of entrenching himself before the Afghans. Holkar in vain implored the Commander-in-Chief to adopt the guerilla tactics so successful in earlier campaigns and to harass the enemy in open country, cutting off his supplies till he was wasted by hunger and fatigue. Śivadās had brought with him a large train of artillery under the charge of Ibrāhīm Khān, an officer who had served with Bussy. He was proud of his guns, and had seen what they could do, so that he listened to the counsel of Ibrāhīm rather than to that of Holkar. In the Marāthā camp both money and stores were soon exhausted, while Shāh Abdālī waited over against it grim and inexorable. They who had so often inflicted starvation on others were now themselves suffering its pangs. "The cup is full to the brim," wrote Śivadās at the end, "and cannot hold another drop." The leaders met for a council of war, and decided to give battle. A last full meal was served out, the Hindus smeared their faces with turmeric, and moved out in the darkness before dawn upon the Afghan camp. In the combat which ensued at daybreak the Marāthās after making a strong attack began to give way; Holkar rode off the field at an early stage of the battle. Those who stood their ground were

surrounded and a multitude beyond count were slain. Śivadās Rao, Viśvās Rao—the Peshwā's son, and many other of the Marāthā leaders fell upon the field. A runner of one of the army bankers was intercepted by the Peshwā, as, all too late, he was going north with succour. The letter of the messenger was opened and it read:—"Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." All Mahārāshṭra was plunged in grief. The stricken Peshwā retired to Poona, where he died a few months later.

REVIEW OF THE MUHAMMADAN CIVILISATION.—Thus we have traced the parallel decay of the Mughal and growth of the Marāthā Empire. The ruin of the one was complete by the date of the battle of Pānīpat; and the prosperity of the other, having reached its zenith, was about to decline. Before commencing to tell the story of that power, which rose from a small and humble beginning as a trading company and welded the whole of India into a closely organised and stable Empire, we must review the characteristics of the Muhammadan civilisation.

The Muslim conquerors brought with them a keen zest of life. They enjoyed the tumult of the battle and the excitements of the chase, but they were also susceptible to gentler and more sociable pleasures. They had an eye for the beauties of natural scenery and knew how to lay out their gardens with terraced rose-trees and channels of running water. They were hospitable and fond of good company; and, if some of their wealth was ill-gotten, they made a better use of it than hoarding. Most of their princes were liberal patrons of art and literature, as these were cultivated amongst them. Though the Sacred Law forbade the painting of a picture of any natural object, yet some of the Mughal Emperors employed artists, both Hindus and foreigners. Among these last were some Frenchmen and Italians. Jahāngir boasted that he was so great a connoisseur of painting that he could tell the work of an artist merely from an eye-brow. Miniature portraits, exquisitely illuminated manuscripts, and the remains of

Art and Literature

frescos and mosaics still remind us of this phase of Muhammadan civilisation. There is no need to speak here of its achievements in Architecture, for we have mentioned already some of the principal of these. The Muhammadans appear to have introduced the use of the arch into Indian building, and they brought with them a new style—the Saracenic. A poetry of compliment and romance—most of it Persian—flourished at the various Courts. It was highly florid, and witty and ingenious rather than truly great. In prose the Muhammadans showed a genius for history: and their chronicles are still our chief authorities for this period, though there are many errors in dates and the writer's view of persons and events often reveals the flattery of a courtier or the bitterness of a partisan. Their rulers have impressed a new language upon India, the Urdū, which supplies many of the political terms, borrowed from the Persian, in use at the present time.

The dominion of the Muhammadans was in the main a rule of foreigners, and its life and strength were sustained by armies that were recruited largely from countries outside of India. Being always few in number and despising clerklly work and agriculture, the Musalmāns depended on the Hindus both for the necessities of life and for the services of the State. The Hindu village officers and courts were left much as they were. The Muhammadan kings and governors brought in an army of occupation and used, with some improvements, the existing machinery for the collection of taxes. The patient Hindu cultivators accepted their new masters and continued to live their old life, asking only to be left alone.

The Sultān was an absolute monarch. There was no body of hereditary nobles in his realm. The grandees of the Empire formed a military order, deriving their honour, wealth, and life itself from the Emperor. A word of his might raise a slave to the highest office or depress a Prime Minister into poverty and obscurity. At death the property of a noble reverted to the Crown and though, as a rule, provision was made out of it for the family and offices were found for the sons, this was done as an act of grace and not of necessity.

While, however, the political system of Islām was a form of despotism, there was none the less a kind of democracy with it. The meanest-born Muslim belonged to the brotherhood of believers and might aspire to high office, even to the throne itself. Every Muhammadan moss-trooper carried a sceptre in his saddle-bag. There was in India no recognised rule determining the succession to the throne. It went neither by the election of the subjects, nor by primogeniture among the princes royal. Though the eldest-born might be allowed to have the strongest claim, still a brother or a provincial governor was always ready to make a bid for sovereignty, if the time served and means were not lacking. This passion for honour and power, imperfectly restrained by any sense of loyalty to the throne, added to the picturesqueness of life, but it was one of the fatal weaknesses of the Muhammadan Empire. It has studded its history thickly with the records of revolts among the nobles and civil wars between brothers. Even when a strong ruler sat on the throne, his sons and nobles were to him the objects of a just suspicion. The practice was for the strong man to get and to keep what he could.

In Muhammadan theory no distinction is made between the State and the Church. The monarch is to rule according to the Code of Islām, which is believed to be of divine origin and authority; and so long as he does so, he cannot be deposed or resisted lawfully by his subjects.

**The Muslim
Ideal of the
State**

The Code is drawn from the threefold sources of the *Qurān*, the Traditions, and the Verdicts of the Imāms and great Doctors of the Law. The guardians of this Code were the Ulamā, the body of the students of the Law, whose business it was to see that its precepts were respected and to give advice on administrative and legal questions. From their number appointments were made to the readerships in the mosques and judgeships in the courts. While on the one hand they sometimes stood with a noble fearlessness between the people and the monarch, and sought to restrain his lust or brutal violence, on the other hand they were themselves the source of many evils; for the Law they represented was far from being perfect.

The defects of the Muhammadan Code are that it is a fixed and immutable system, resisting the growth and progress of civilisation as with an iron band; that sometimes what are merely offences against the religion of Islām are more heavily punished than crimes against universal morality and the well-being of mankind; that many of the penalties attached to crimes are cruel and barbarous in the extreme; and that the treatment of the *Zimmi* or non-Muslim is harsh and unjust. The *Zimmi* was bound to pay the poll-tax: and in India under many Sultāns he had to pay, in addition, taxes on land, and even on commercial transactions, from which the Muslim was exempt. The evidence of the infidel could not be accepted by the judge against the true believer.

When the tyrant, Alā-ud-dīn, consulted a lawyer and asked him how Hindus were designated in the Law, the Kāzī replied:—"They are called payers of tribute, and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should, without question and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the officer throws dirt into their mouths, they must without reluctance open their mouths wide to receive it. God holds them in contempt, for He says, 'Keep them under in subjection.' To keep the Hindus in abasement is especially a religious duty, because the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them, and make them captive, saying, 'Convert them to Islām or kill them, enslave them and spoil their wealth and property.' No doctor but the great doctor (Hanīfa), to whose school we belong, has assented to the imposition of *jizya* on Hindus. Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but 'Death or Islām.' "

It scarcely need be said that the successful Muhammadan kings made no attempt to enforce this Law in its completeness. Sher Khān was the first to make no distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim in the payment of the land-tax. Rulers like Akbar and Jahāngīr were lax, or even heretical, in the eyes of the Ulamā. Aurangzīb involved himself and his Empire in ruin in the endeavour to realise their ideal of government.

The Mughal Empire showed a higher degree of political organisation than had previously existed in India.

The king stationed a Governor, or Viceroy, in each Province that came under his sway, and also sent with him a **Provincial Organisation** Dīwān or chief revenue officer, whose duty it was to watch the collections on behalf of the king and to submit accounts to the Imperial Treasury. The Sultān also had his staff of letter-writers all over the Empire, who were expected to keep him acquainted with everything that happened and to be a check upon the doings of the provincial Governors. But there must often have been collusion between these officers, and it was impossible for an effective supervision to be maintained by any save the most able and active sovereigns. Some of the Emperors try to keep eye and hand upon the local authorities by making extensive progresses through their dominions. Generally speaking, the Viceroys were able to do much as they pleased, both in the collection of revenue, whether in excess or defect, and in the administration of justice, so long as they remitted their tribute to the Imperial Treasury and kept the peace within their borders.

The Viceroy had a large staff of subordinate officers under his direction. Each district or important township was administered by a local Governor or Nawāb, answerable to the Viceroy, but possessing like him powers of life and death over the people.

The total land revenue of Akbar from his fifteen provinces has been estimated at about 14 crores of rupees, which by the time of Aurangzib had risen to over 30 crores from twenty provinces. These totals show a much higher rate of assessment than is imposed by the modern Government of India; but the valuation was nominal and probably was rarely realised. The collections were irregular: battalions of peons were kept for revenue purposes, and there was no scruple about getting in arrears by the employment of force. In unsettled times and under bad rulers, the country looked as though it had passed through a devastating war after the revenue officers with their peons had finished the *jamābandi* and gone their way. What fraction from each province was received by the Imperial Treasury we cannot say. Sometimes it may have been large: sometimes it was nothing at all.

The king's personal income was only derived in part from the provincial tributes. Perhaps more important sources of revenue were the taxes on the Crown lands; the presents offered by the nobles on great ceremonial occasions, and when they were seeking or receiving favours; and the estates which fell in on the death of their possessors.

In a state of society, in which the military power had not been duly subordinated to the civil, the administration of justice could not receive the care which it deserved. There were Police-officers, or *Kotwāls*, and *Kāzīs*, or Judges, in each town or centre of Muhammadan population. The *Kāzīs* settled cases between Muhammadans according to their Law; but civil disputes among Hindus were left to be dealt with by themselves or were decided by the Muhammadan judges, assisted by Brāhmans, according to Hindu custom and *Śāstra*. The Emperors and Governors also heard appeals and sometimes revised the decisions of the courts. The justice dealt out was rough and ready: its merits were that it was simple and quick; and the danger was that it might miscarry. Mutilations and shockingly inhuman penalties were awarded for criminal offences.

Government had to be carried on under the disadvantages of imperfect and slow means of communication. The imperial roads at best were tracks, lined with trees but unmetalled and unbridged; or they were merely marked out by a line of pillars, which the villagers had to keep white with lime-wash. Along these routes were posted the foot-runners or horsemen, who carried the imperial despatches. Travel was not safe everywhere owing to robbers or insubordinate chieftains, and the merchants generally went in companies. At night they stopped in the caravanserais, which had been erected by the Government or by benevolent persons along all the main routes. These were strong buildings arranged on a quadrangular plan. The outer door was closed at night-fall and, before it was opened in the morning, travellers were asked to search their baggage. If anything was missing, the door was not opened, until the thief had been found. In

**Communi-
cations and
Commerce**

the great cities and ports there were bankers and money-changers, wonderfully skilful in calculating rates of exchange. Merchandise was carried upon pack animals, though wheeled carriages were in use among well-to-do travellers. Trade, however, was greatly hampered by the many toll and excise duties that had to be paid for transit through the districts and townships. It was not considered safe to show too many outward signs of prosperity and wealth. Bernier tells us that even at Delhi there were few fine buildings beside the palaces in the Fort and the residences of the Amīrs in the suburbs. The greater part of the city consisted of mean streets of mud houses, and the rich man buried his money and jewels in the ground for security.

There were two conspicuous blemishes in the Muhammadan social system—the institution of slavery and the *status* assigned to woman. It is true that the Law permits even the married woman to retain and to exercise independently all rights in her own property; but the view of woman as the companion and help-meet of man in his noblest activities is little in evidence. She is too much the servant of his passions or the toy of his idle hours. The practice of secluding women behind the *purdah* dwarfed the nature of the woman, and it did not teach the man to be chivalrous or chaste. Our history has already furnished us with examples of princesses, who were beautiful and accomplished, wise and virtuous; but the life, guarded and shut in by the narrow walls of the women's courts, was often seething with sordid and debasing intrigue. The Zenāna establishments of the kings and nobles had most important political effects. Through weakening the natural ties of the family—the reverence and affection that should exist between father and son, brother and brother—it was the fruitful source of political disunion and civil war. By its temptations to sloth and gross sensuality, it destroyed in the long run both the moral and the physical fibre of the ruling classes.

We have observed already that Rāmānuja started a movement against the philosophy of Śāṅkara. It spread widely all over India, and in the fourteenth century

another teacher, Rāmānanda, of Benares, fifth in succession from Rāmānuja, gave it increased vogue in the north. The essence of the new religion was *Bhakti* or Devotion. The followers of this way believed that birth, Vedic learning and sacrifice—none of these is the chief thing in God's sight; faith in and loving obedience to Him are what He requires. Thus the *Bhakti Mārga* was a popular religion. In its earliest forms it rejected caste and priestly supremacy; any man might be admitted to the religious community; and the language of the common people was used for teaching and in the scriptures. Devotion generally took one or other of two forms—the worship of Rāma or of Kṛishṇa. In the sixteenth century Tulsīdās gave to northern India its most popular religious epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Hindī; while in Bengal Chaitanya (born 1483) and in the west Vallabhāchārya founded sects, which worship the youthful Kṛishṇa. To this upheaval of popular religion the saints Rāmdās, Ekanāth, and Tukārām, of the Marāthā country, contributed their share.

Though, without doubt, the Muhammadans made many converts in India at the point of the sword, or by the enslavement of captives taken in war,* Islām was represented by nobler influences to the people of India. It was also propagated by rulers, dignified and courteous in their manners, benevolent and upright in their intention; by Kāzis, learned and moral, if severe, in their mode of life; by preachers, eloquent and argumentative; by saints and mystics, withdrawn from the crowd and believed to possess miracle-working powers; and, above all, by a countless army of wandering *fakīrs*. It could not fail to happen that the religion of Islām should influence the course of Hindu faith and worship. Its doctrine of the

* The question, whether the Prophet, Muhammad, sanctioned the use of the sword in propagating his religion lies outside the range of Indian history. There are eminent Muslims of modern India, who affirm that he did not. It is not, however, open to dispute that many of the Muhammadan kings, from Mahmūd of Ghaznī to Tipū Sultān of Mysore, were of the contrary opinion. They believed such warfare to be both obligatory and meritorious. Their own words and writings, as well as the annals of the historians, yield evidence in abundance of their belief and practice.

Unity of God and its brotherhood of believers related it naturally and closely to the *Bhakti* movement. Several important sects sprang from a fusion of Muhammadan and Hindu thought, and from the desire to unite both parties in the service of one God. Kabīr, a contemporary of Sikandar Lodi, was probably a Muhammadan by birth, but he came under the influence of the teaching of Rāmānanda, if he was not actually one of his disciples. His followers, the Kabīr Panthīs, still number over three-quarters of a million in northern and central India. Nānak (1469-1539) was a Hindu by birth, who drew his inspiration from Kabīr. He was the founder of the great Sikh religion. Both leaders were alike in affirming that neither *Veda* nor *Qurān* can give saving knowledge, which is the gift of God's grace to His devotee; that neither the observances and sacraments of Brāhmanism nor those of Islām—such as the wearing of the sacred thread and the rite of circumcision—but only pure deeds, conforming to the will of God, commend us to Him. Yet these two religions ran a widely different course in after years. The Kabīr Panth has remained a purely religious community;* Sikhism expanded into a political power. The later Sikh Gurus, especially the tenth, Govind, welded the disciples into a militant church, incurring the opposition and persecution of the Mughal Emperors and returning that enmity with a relentless hatred. The unshorn locks, the blue robe, and the title of Singh became the outward signs of the Sikh; and the *Khālsā*, or Congregation of the Elect, with its twelve *Misls*, or Confederacies, under their several chieftains, conquered and occupied much territory both in the Lahore district and on the hither side of the Sutlej.

The causes of the decay of the Muhammadan Empire were the impossibility of continuing to recruit armies from the north-west, and physical deterioration among those who had settled down in India. This was disastrous to a supremacy, which rested upon force and had roused the hostility of the Hindus by religious intolerance.

* Other religious leaders, influenced by Kabīr, were Dādū of Jaipur (1544-1603), who held discourse with Akbar; Bāba Lāl of Mālwa, who flourished in the reign of Jahāngīr; and the founder of the Sat Nāmī sect, which gave trouble to Aurangzib.

Further, the rule of the Sultāns was a personal rule, without a nation or a political constitution behind it. When the king ceased to inspire fear or love, and debauchery and treachery became rife among the nobles, all the moral bonds of the Empire were loosened, and it fell asunder.

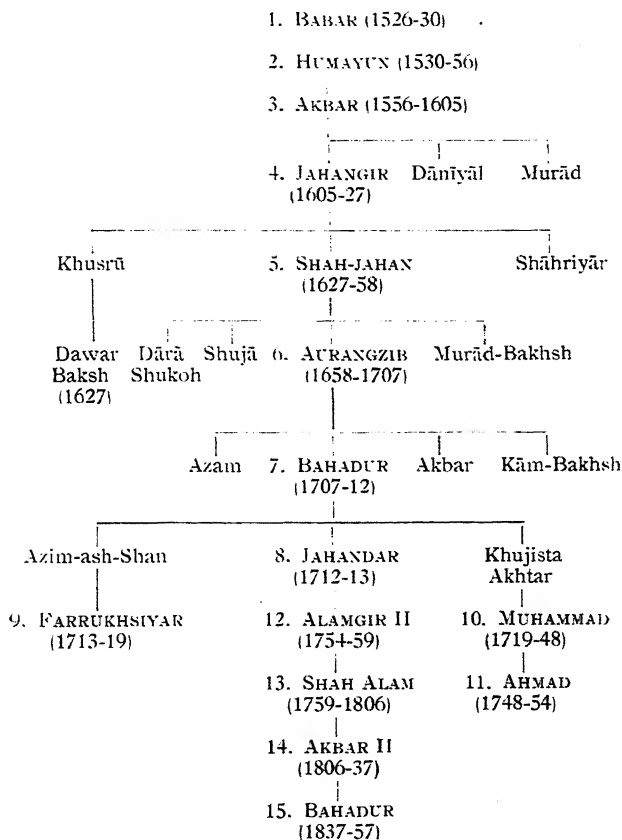
CHRONOLOGY OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE IN DECLINE AND OF THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY.

- 1707-12 BAHADUR SHAH reigns 1708 SHAH crowned Rāja of
after defeating Azam Sātārā. Sivājī, son of Rājarām.
Shāh near Agra. is a rival at Kolhāpur.
- 1712-13 JAHANDAR reigns. 1712 Sivājī of Kolhāpur dies.
- 1713-19 FARRUKH SIYAR 1714-20 BALAJI VISVANATH RAO
reigns. is Peshwā.
- 1715 Guru Banda put to
death.
- 1719-48 MUHAMMAD SHAH 1719 Visvanāth marches to
reigns. Delhi and helps to instal Muham-
mad Shāh, gets grant of *chauth*
in Deccan subāhs.
- 1720 Defeat of Sayyid 1720-40 BAJI RAO is Peshwā.
Abdulla at Shāhpur. 1732-36 He invades Mālhwā, and
reaches Agra and Delhi.
1735-41 Dumas is Governor at
Pondichery.
1738 Peshwā hems in Nizām-ul-
mulk at Bhopāl. Convention of
Sironj.
- 1739 Invasion of Nādir Shāh 1740-61 BALAJI BAJI RAO is
and sack of Delhi. Peshwā.
1741-54 Dupleix is Governor at
Pondichery.
1743 Peshwā's campaign against
Nāgpur Rāja; gets imperial grant
for Mālhwā.
- 1748 Death of Nizām-ul-
mulk.
- 1748-54 AHMAD reigns. 1749 Sāhū dies: Peshwā be-
comes titular as well as real head
of the Marāthā Confederacy.
RAMRAJA becomes Rāja of
Sātārā.

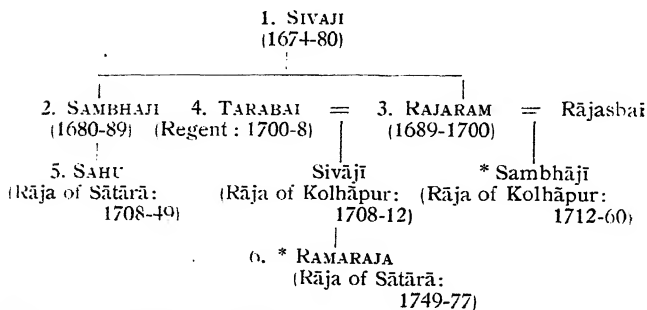
CHRONOLOGY OF MUGHAL EMPIRE (Contd.)

- 1750 Muzzafar Jang succeeds Nāsir Jang. 1750 Tārābai stirs up rising against the Peshwā.
- 1751 Salābat Jang succeeds Muzzafar Jang. 1752 Alivardī Khān cedes Orissa and pays *chauth* for Bengal.
- 1754 Ghāzi-ud-dīn deposes Ahmad
- 1754-59 ALAMGIR II reigns.
- 1757 Shāh Abdālī sacks Delhi. 1756-60 Clive in Bengal.
- 1759 Ghāzi-ud-dīn murders Alamgīr.
- 1759-1806 SHAH ALAM is titular King of Delhi. 1760 Salābat Jang, hemmed in at Udāyagiri, cedes large territory to Marāthās.
- 1761 Defeat of Marāthās at Pānīpat by Shāh Abdālī. 1761 English take Pondichery.
- 1764 Battle of Baksar: Shāh Alam accepts English protection.
- 1771 Shāh Alam goes to Delhi with Marāthās.
- 1806-37 AKBAR is titular King of Delhi.
- 1837-57 BAHADUR is titular King of Delhi.
- 1862 Death of Bahādur.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

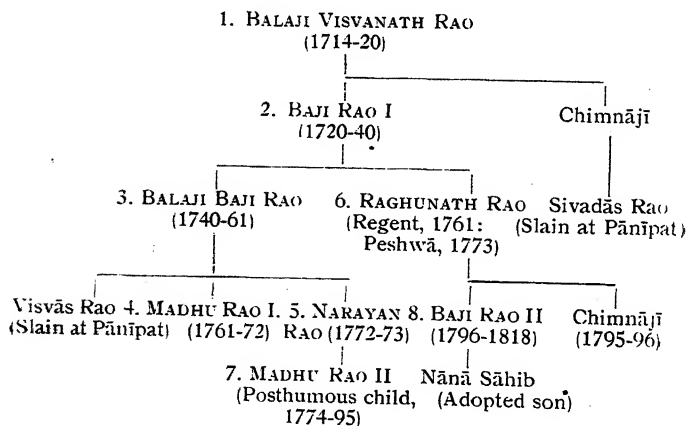


GENEALOGICAL TREE OF SIVAJI'S HOUSE



* No male issue: an adopted son succeeds.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE PESHWAS





THE BRITISH PERIOD

CHAPTER XIV

The European Nations and India

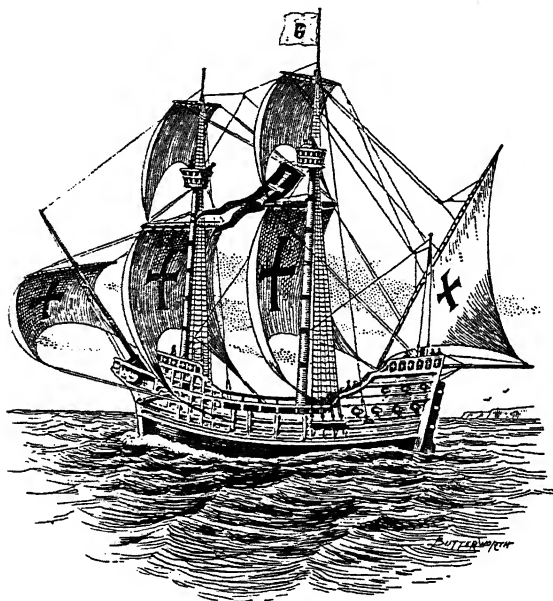
We enter now upon the last period of Indian history bringing us down to modern times, and shall first give a brief account of the early commercial intercourse between India and Europe. There were three main trade routes. The most southerly of these was the sea route, which went by way of the Red Sea to Alexandria and thence across the Mediterranean to Venice and Genoa. The middle route skirted the shores of the Indian Ocean and followed the caravan roads of Mesopotamia to the ports of Asia Minor or Palestine, whence goods were conveyed to Venice and Genoa. The northerly route was mainly a land track. It led out of north-west India across the spurs of the Himālayan range into the valley of the Oxus. There it branched out into two ways, one of which struck north across the Caspian Sea up the Volga to Nijni Novgorod, and thence to the towns of the Baltic and North Seas; while the second branch turned to the west across the Black Sea past Constantinople to the ports of the Mediterranean. Thus in mediæval Europe the chief centres of the trade with the east were Venice and Genoa in the south and the German towns of the Hanseatic League in the north.

The conquests of the Turks, however, greatly injured and interrupted this commerce. The Ottoman Empire lay across the southerly routes and was able to hold them up at many points. By the end of the fifteenth century Christian Europe was in need of a new route to the east, which was not in the grasp of the Turk.

The little country of Portugal was foremost in the work of discovery. She had thrown off at last and forever the domination of the Moors, and the heart of the nation beat high with the spirit of adventure. With the noble prince—Henry 'the Navigator' (1394-1460), as he is called—

**The
Portuguese
Mariners**

discovery had become a ruling passion: to it he devoted life and fortune. In his day the southern reaches of the Atlantic Ocean and the west coast of Africa were unknown to and unexplored by the most daring sailor. Prince Henry in his observatory, school of navigation, and arsenal at Sagres cultivated the science of navigation, invented or improved nautical instruments, and built more seaworthy



VASCO DA GAMA'S SHIP, "SAO GABRIEL."

vessels. Ship after ship was fitted out and penetrated farther and yet farther into the "sea of darkness"; but the Prince had been dead more than twenty years when the first Portuguese mariner, Dias, reached the last point on the long southward trend of the African coast and rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486. The efforts of Portugal were to be rewarded at length; it was plain that a southern passage could be won by sea to India. In 1497 Vasco da

Gama set sail from the mouth of the Tagus, and on May 20th in the following year he landed at Calicut on the Malabar coast. The local ruler, or Zamorin, gave him a friendly welcome and looked for profitable trade relations. He wrote to the King of Portugal:—"In my country there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet." But the Portuguese had first to meet and overcome commercial rivals. The Arab merchants, whose dhows were blown across the Indian Ocean from the mouth of the Red Sea by the trade winds, resented the intrusion of the strangers. They embroiled the Portuguese with the

Zamorin, and in 1502 Vasco da Gama on his return from Europe made an alliance with the Rāja of Cochin, the Zamorin's enemy, and destroyed the Arab fleet. After him came Francisco da Almeida. In 1508 his son, Lorenzo, was mortally wounded while gallantly fighting his ship against heavy odds; but next year the father won a great victory off Diu over the



ALBUQUERQUE

combined Indian and Egyptian fleets. It established the naval supremacy of the Portuguese in the Indian waters. The most successful of their admirals was Albuquerque, who captured Ormuz commanding the trade with the Persian Gulf, seized Goa in 1510, which from its central

position was well adapted to become the capital of the Portuguese empire in the east, and a year later added Malacca in the Spice Archipelago to his conquests.

But the Portuguese power in the east was not destined to expand. The resources and energy of the small nation at home were soon exhausted. Its servants abroad were idle and venal, and in private life they were extravagant and profligate. In 1560 the Inquisition, of unhappy memory, was established at Goa, and religious bigotry was added to other causes of decline and failure: ecclesiastics and monks flourished, while the State decayed. It may be doubted, however, whether under any conditions so small a country as Portugal could have held its ground against other European nations.

The Portuguese flourished only in the absence of competition. In 1502 the Pope had issued a Bull, declaring "the Navigation, Conquests and Trade" with the east to be the sole right of the King of Portugal. So long as the secular authority of the Pope was respected in Europe, Portugal had no rivals to fear. Moreover, in 1497, Cabot, sailing from Bristol had lit upon Newfoundland, and the attention of the English nation was diverted to the finding of a passage by the north-west round the North American coast, or by the north-east through the Russian seas to far-off Cathay. In these vain endeavours, led by seamen like Willoughby, Frobisher, and Davis, much treasure and many lives were sacrificed.

But the peoples of the Reformation were ill disposed to allow the Pope's right to parcel out the round globe.

The Coming of the Dutch and English "The use of sea and air," said Elizabeth of England, "is common to all, as neither nature, nor public use and custom, permitteth any possession thereof." The great sea-captain, Drake, following the route of Magellan by Cape Horn, broke into the Spice Archipelago, and returning home completed his voyage round the world (1577-1580). After the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588, bolder attacks were made on the Portuguese and Spanish monopoly.* Lancaster sailed by the direct southern route

* Portugal was united to Spain from 1580 to 1640.

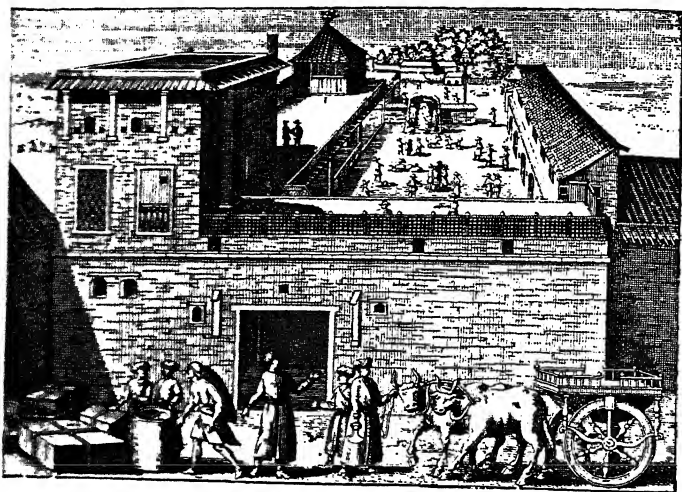
to Malaysia, and brought back one out of his three ships, laden with a cargo of spices, and the Dutch followed his example. The profits of the trade were large, and the way was now open. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth conferred a charter on the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies," which by the exercise of her royal prerogative gave to them alone among her subjects the right of trade with the East Indies. The Dutch Company was formed in 1602 with a larger capital and much closer association with and stronger support from the State. Thus the sixteenth century was the age of the Portuguese in India: the seventeenth may be said to have belonged to the Dutch. The Dutch continued to be the strongest European power in the East, so long as Holland was one of the foremost naval powers in Europe. The superiority of England on the sea was not clearly established till towards the close of the century.

Both the new Companies were anxious at first to secure a footing in the Spice Islands, whence came the more valuable cloves and cinnamon, India yielding principally the less esteemed pepper and ginger. The Dutch were determined to have none to share the trade with them, and their agents were instructed to squeeze the English out of the Archipelago. In 1623 a handful of Englishmen were seized on the island of Amboyna and absurdly accused of a plot to capture the Dutch settlement. Confessions were wrung from some of them by torture and they were put to death. The Massacre of Amboyna, as it was called, was not soon forgotten nor readily forgiven in England, but it was not until Cromwell's strong hand intervened that Holland made tardy reparation in 1654. Henceforward the Dutch were supreme in the Spice Islands and their dominion in that quarter was scarcely challenged or molested for more than a century and a half. On the Indian continent, too, and in the island of Ceylon their concerns prospered; and their system was held up as a pattern to other European nations, protecting their commerce as it did by means of forts and military establishments and combining the business of a merchant with the office of a civil governor. The Dutch took many of the Portuguese

possessions, and they built their factories with their castles or forts at Surāt and Cochin on the West Coast; Pulicat, Masūlipatam, and Chinsura on the East Coast—to mention only a few of their chief settlements.

The English Company, however, was a purely private organisation, and the end it had in view was trade, not conquest or government. For many years its sole business in India was to exchange the glass-ware, cutlery, woollen cloth, silver and gold coins or bullion of Europe for the spices and gems, the muslins and calicoes produced in this country. Its first

**The English
Company**



ENGLISH FACTORY AT SURĀT

voyages were made, as we have seen, to the Malay Archipelago; but, after the Dutch had asserted their supremacy there, the trade with India became the chief concern of the English. In 1611 they established a factory at Musūlipatam, and next year their agents won a firm footing in Surāt, at that time the chief port of the Mughal Empire. For more than half a century Surāt continued to be the leading settlement of the English on the West Coast, and

the President had his residence there. But the decay of the Empire and the silting up of the Tapti estuary gave the advantage to Bombay, which stepped into the first place.

Just as the Portuguese had to do battle with the Arabs at the beginning of the sixteenth century for the command of the sea, so now a century later the English had to meet the Portuguese. In 1612 Captain Best with his two ships beat off a Portuguese squadron that attacked him in the Swally Roads off Surāt; and in 1615 Downton in the same waters defeated the Goa Viceroy, who had collected a large fleet to defend the monopoly of Portugal in the Indian trade. This battle was decisive; it gave the English prestige at the Mughal Court and confirmed the permission they had received to trade with Surāt and the interior of the country. In 1622 they wrested Ormuz from the Portuguese; and the two naval powers continued to prey upon each other, till the Viceroy of Goa and the English President came to an understanding and made a compact of peace in 1635.

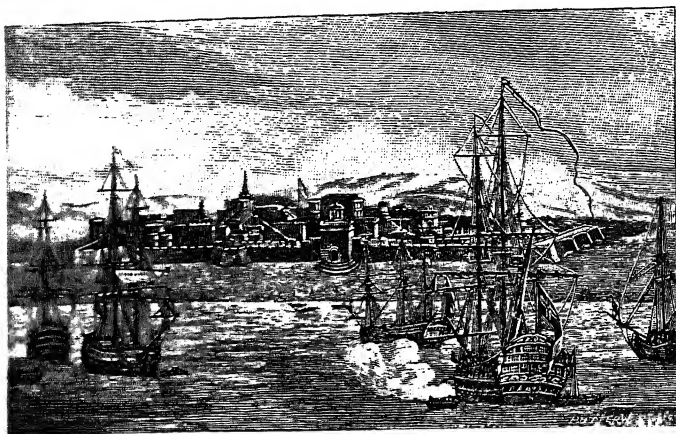
The early policy of the English has never been better stated than by Sir Thomas Roe, who was ambassador at the Mughal Court from 1612 to 1615 and

**The
Roe Doctrine** attempted to secure a regular commercial treaty between the Emperor of India and the King of England. This he found to be impossible. In 1616 he wrote in a letter of advice to the Directors of the Company:—"A war and traffic are incompatible. . . . It is the beggaring of the Portugal, notwithstanding his many rich residencies and territories, that he keeps soldiers that spend it. . . . It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantation here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock, they prowl in all places, they possess some of the best; yet their dead pays consume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet trade." This was the Roe doctrine of peaceable commerce, carried on with the permission and under the protection of the Indian powers. The English were, therefore, for nearly a century no more than foreign merchants, engaged in a trade which was as profitable to the Indians as to themselves. Their freedom

HISTORY OF INDIA

and safety were secured by *farmāns*, granted either by the Emperor himself or by provincial governors. The Company were vested with magisterial powers for the discipline of their own servants; and, when they acquired small territories, as at Madras and Bombay, they formed municipalities and appointed judges and police officers to dispense justice and keep order among the people who flocked to make a living in their busy settlements.

On the East Coast they struggled to maintain their factory at Masūlipatam; but Dutch opposition in the end



FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS

By kind permission of the India Office

proved too strong and drove them forth. In 1639 Chennappa, the Naik of Chingleput, a feudatory of the Rāja of Chandragiri, ceded to them a small sandy strip of land at the mouth of the Cooum river. This was the site of the city of Madras, which is now the capital of the south, and was the first territorial possession of the English in India. In 1633 they attempted with little success to open factories in Orissa; but in 1650 they obtained a *farmān* from the Viceroy of Bengal, permitting them to trade in his province and to build factories at Hūgli and Kāsimbazar. On the West Coast Charles II

had received the islands of Bombay and Salsette as part of the dowry of his bride, Catherine of Braganza. The Portuguese, however, refused to allow the King's troops to land and take possession of Salsette; and finally a fever-stricken remnant occupied the island of Bombay alone. In 1668 Charles made over his property, as a thing of little worth, to the Company for an annual quit-rent of £10.

Meanwhile the Mughal Empire was breaking up. Surāt was twice plundered by the Marāthās, though the

**Fortified
Trade**

English, by showing a bold front, had saved their factory amid the general loot. The prevalent disorder was such in 1684 that the Directors wrote, "Though our business is only trade and security, we dare not trade boldly, nor leave great stocks... where we have not the security of a fort." These were significant words, because they show how the Company was departing from the Roe policy of 'quiet trade' to one of armed trade. The action of Shāyista Khān, Viceroy of Bengal, brought about a crisis. Although the Company held an Imperial *farmān*, exempting their traffic from the payment of local customs, the Viceroy imposed a duty upon it. The Directors considered that they had to choose between allowing their servants to be plundered and insulted by every local authority and resisting by force. They were convinced that the Indian rulers would not cease from trampling upon their agents, "till we have made them as sensible of our Power, as we have of our Truth and Justice." They, therefore, declared war upon the Great Mughal.

A ridiculous expedition of ten ships with six companies of infantry aboard was fitted out in England. The result was disastrous and humiliating to the Com-

**War with the
Great Mughal:
1686-90**

pany. The English merchants had to flee from their factories at Kāsimbazar and Hūgli; and they were expelled from Surāt and Masūlipatam. The squadron, under Heath, sailed to Chittagong and returned without accomplishing anything. Aurangzib, however, was eager to make peace; for the English ships could stop the pilgrim traffic with Mecca and capture the rich cargoes bound for Surāt. The English agreed to pay a lakh and a half of rupees, and their

trading *farmāns* were restored to them. Job Charnock now (1690) brought back a handful of factors to the site on the eastern bank of the Hūglī beside a deep pool, where he had once before tried to found a settlement safe from Mughal interference. The spot was marshy and malarious, and the first inhabitants were scourged with fever and suffered many discomforts in their miserable tenements. But Charnock had chosen his place well, and the settlement was destined to grow and become famous as Calcutta, till recently the metropolis of the modern Indian Empire. A few years later, territory containing three villages was purchased from the Bengal Viceroy, and the walls of the first Fort William were raised to defend the rapidly developing mart.

This first struggle of the English with the sovereign power of India is noteworthy, because it drew from them the earliest expression of a political aim. In 1687 the Directors wrote to the Council of Madras, directing them to establish such a "Polity of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large Revenue as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come." The first phase in the intercourse of the English with India was over. There did not exist a paramount political power in the country, which could guarantee them security. They looked no longer to *farmāns* for defence, but to their own arms.

At the end of the seventeenth century another great issue was settled. There was a large body of merchants in England who protested against being shut out from the trade with India. Some of them became "interlopers," and in defiance of the Company's monopoly undertook voyages to India and established themselves as traders there. This party grew so strong that in 1698 a Bill was passed in Parliament constituting a new Company, which received its Charter from the King as "The English Company trading to the East Indies." It enjoyed the most influential patronage and support, and sent Sir Nicholas Waite and Sir William Norris abroad as its ambassadors to the Great Mughal. But its affairs did not prosper, and it involved the English in India in another quarrel with

**The United
East India
Company**

Aurangzib. Both parties came to see the folly of this strife and division, and by an Act of Parliament of 1702 the two Companies were united. Their union was not consummated till 1708, the Earl of Godolphin acting as arbitrator and settling all details in dispute by his final award.

This rivalry fixed two leading principles. First of all, it established the sole right of Parliament to confer or regulate a monopoly of trade. The original Charter had been given by Elizabeth, and renewed by other sovereigns, as part of the royal prerogative, but in 1694 the House of Commons passed a resolution, to the effect that "all the subjects of England have equal rights to trade in the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament."* Second, the system of a monopoly, exercised by a Company, was deliberately preferred by Parliament to that of a trade open to all British subjects.

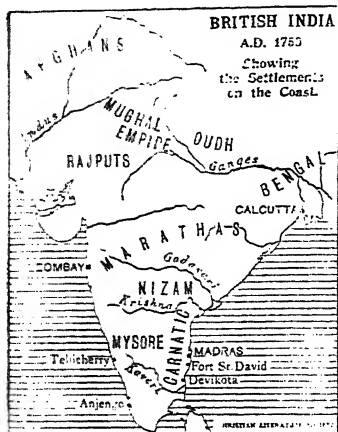
These, then, were the conditions under which the English in India entered upon the eighteenth century, and they lasted for more than a hundred years, until in 1813 Parliament abolished the Company's monopoly of trade and permitted the people to exercise the right, which belonged to them.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE FRENCH.—At the beginning of the eighteenth century the English Company was in possession of three principal settlements—Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, each of which was defended by modest fortifications, and had a narrow territory adjoining it. The hope of the Directors was that the profits of their trade would pay the dividends on their share capital in England, while the cost of armament and of civil administration would be met by the revenue from their lands abroad.

We have seen that, for one moment in the struggle with Aurangzib, the Company formed the idea of founding an English Dominion in the East. But it was a purpose they had never set before themselves clearly and stead-

* Cromwell's Parliament had laid down the same principle, and conferred a Charter; but after the Restoration the King resumed his prerogative, and the Revolution was needed to establish the authority of Parliament in the control of foreign trade.

fastly, and it was soon forgotten. The brief and disastrous war with the Great Mughal had chastened their hopes, and sent them back to the humbler duties of the desk and factory. It was the work of the French to rouse their ambition again. The French were a people of quicker and warmer imagination than the English; and the plan



of founding an Indian Empire had taken shape in the brain of Dumas and Dupleix before ever the English presidents and merchants had conceived it. The English entered once more into the field of war to oppose the political aims of the French; and, when the struggle was over, they found themselves the rulers of wide territories with large administrative responsibilities. Without either clearly intending it or pursuing it as an end, they had become one among the great powers of India.

The first French Companies for trading with the Indies were formed early in the seventeenth century; but we need not take any account of them, for they accomplished little or nothing. In 1664

The Coming of the French

a new Company was formed under the famous minister, Colbert; and in 1668 its agent, Carron, obtained privileges of trade at Surāt, while his Persian colleague was equally successful at Masūlipatam on the other side of India. Shortly afterwards an expedition was fitted out to make war on the Dutch in the east. Almost its only success was the capture of St. Thomé, close to Madras, which, however, was recovered by the Dutch in 1674. On this occasion a handful of Frenchmen under Martin were allowed to retire to Pondichery, where the French held a plot of land at the mouth of the Jinjī river, bought from Sher Khān Lodī, the Bijāpur Viceroy. Here Martin

gathered in Indian artisans to his factories, laid out a neat and prosperous town, and drilled his sepoys for its defence. In 1693 he had the chagrin of seeing all his labour apparently thrown away. The Dutch came down upon him in overwhelming force, he was compelled to surrender the settlement, and was shipped off to France by the victors. But Pondichery was restored to the French in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick, and Martin returned to it as Governor, continuing to manage its affairs with success till he died in 1706. In 1725 the French acquired Maihi on the Malabar coast, and re-christened it Mahé in honour of the clever captain of a frigate, Mahé de la Bourdonnais, by whose stratagem it had been captured.

The political importance, however, of the French in South India begins with Dumas, who was Governor of Pondichery from 1735 to 1741. He was on friendly terms with the family of Dost Ali Khān, the Nawāb of Arcot, and in 1736 he obtained through the Nawāb an imperial *farmān* giving permission to the French to set up a mint and coin money. In 1739 he took possession of the port of Kāraikāl. The manner of his doing so requires some explanation.

The Nawāb Dost Ali Khān, had a son, Safdar Ali, and a son-in-law, Chanda Sāhib, who was an able and ambitious man—greatly suspected and feared by Safdar Ali. When the throne of Trichinopoly fell vacant in 1736 the widowed Rānī claimed the regency and called in Chanda Sāhib to her aid. Chanda Sāhib, once admitted within the fort, threw the Rānī into prison and made himself master of her city and its territories.

Tanjore, since the invasion of Śahājī, father of Śivājī, had been ruled by Marāthā princes. On the death of the Rāja Tukājī in 1738 a struggle ensued among his sons. One of the rivals, Śāhūjī by name, secured the promise of support from the French by offering to cede to them the port of Kāraikāl. Meanwhile a plot in the capital placed him in possession of the throne and he refused to keep his word with his allies. Thereupon Chanda Sāhib marched from Trichinopoly and put Kāraikāl into the hands of the French.

In 1740 occurred an event, which brought the French into the wider circle of Indian politics and introduced them to the great contending parties. The Marāthās had long been wanting to collect their arrears of *chauth* from the Carnātic (Karnātak), and they now poured down from the Deccan. The Nawāb, Dost Ali Khān, sought to stem the torrent in the pass of Damalcheri, but he was slain and his army routed. Safdar Ali fled to Vellore and Chanda Sāhib threw himself into Trichinopoly, which he stocked with provisions and made ready for a siege. The Marāthās, however, came to a secret understanding with Safdar Ali, according to which he was to be recognised as Nawāb, while Chanda Sāhib was to be removed from Trichinopoly. The Marāthās feigning a retreat from the Carnātic, Chanda Sāhib sold off his grain and discovered too late the ruse of the enemy. He was starved into surrender and taken off as a prisoner to Sātārā, where we shall hear of him again in 1748.

Both the widow of Dost Ali Khān and the wife of Chanda Sāhib, with their family jewels, had been sent to Pondichery for safe keeping. When Raghoji Bhonsle appeared before Pondichery and demanded their surrender, Dumas replied to his summons with the high spirit of a chivalrous Frenchman:—"The wife of Chanda Sāhib is in Pondichery under the protection of the King of France, my master, and all the French in India would die rather than deliver her to you." And he would not yield one cash of tribute. Though Raghoji Bhonsle laid waste the neighbourhood of Pondichery, he thought better of an attempt upon the town and fort and retired. This defiance of the Marāthās, then at the height of their power, won great fame for Dumas in southern India. Nizām-ul-Mulk sent him a dress of honour, while the Emperor of Delhi made him a Mansabdār of Four Thousand Five Hundred and gave him the title of Nawāb.

After this triumph Dumas resigned and Dupleix, the greatest of the French governors, succeeded him in office and assumed his titles with great public display. Dupleix had already shown his ability at the Bengal settlement of Chandranagar,

Dupleix :
1741-1754

which he had raised from a stagnant and decaying place into a busy and prosperous mart. He had married the widow of M. Vincens—a lady who was born and brought up in India and was familiar with the languages and customs of the country. She was the Governor's right hand—his trusted counsellor and a diplomatist as skilful as himself.

We must now take up again the thread of Carnātic politics. The Nawāb, Safdar Alī, was murdered in 1742 by his brother-in-law, Murtaza Alī. The murderer ruled for a short time; but indignation at his crime was too strong for him to withstand and he fled from Arcot to Vellore, leaving a young son of Safdar Alī to succeed to the title. At this point (1743) the aged Nizām-ul-Mulk came upon the scene. As Sūbahdār of the Deccan and almost the sole surviving grandee of the Empire in its days of power, he had seen with impatience first one and then another set up as Nawāb without so much as his leave being asked. Collecting a great army, he marched south to impress his authority on the presumptuous chieftains. He appointed one of his nobles, Anwar-ud-dīn to act as guardian to the boy and returned to Haidarābād; but in the same year the child was murdered, and the Nizām recognised Anwar-ud-dīn as Nawāb in his stead.

Meanwhile war had been declared in Europe between England and France. Dupleix, who was in great fear lest the English should fall upon him before the arrival of La Bourdonnais with his fleet, induced the Nawāb to forbid the two parties to make war within his territories. At length in July, 1746, La Bourdonnais cast anchor off Pondichery, having beaten off the English squadron which attacked him in the southern waters. Dupleix urged upon him the advantage of an immediate attempt upon Madras; but almost from the beginning of their intercourse, there was jealousy and bickering between the Admiral and the Governor. After a delay of several months La Bourdonnais set sail, and easily took possession of Madras, which made a feeble resistance of a few days only. Dupleix was anxious to destroy the English power in India, root and branch, and he would have razed the

**The First War
with
the French :
1745-1749**

fortifications of Madras to the ground and expelled the inhabitants. In spite of all his protests, La Bourdonnais entered into a compact with the English, permitting them to ransom their settlement for a large sum, and when the officers of Dupleix remonstrated with him, he placed them under arrest. In October a cyclone shattered his fleet, as it lay off Madras. After he had collected and repaired the

remnant of his ships, the Admiral sailed from India never to return.



DUPEIX

Dupleix had obtained the consent of the Nawāb to his attack upon Madras by promising that he would effect the capture on the Nawāb's behalf and would then deliver the settlement up to him. He delayed, however, to keep his word, until he had dismantled the fort, and the Nawāb's troops

drew near to compel the French to evacuate the place at once. A small French detachment met them on the banks of the Adyār and repulsed them with heavy loss. It was a memorable conflict, for it proved the great superiority of the European soldiers and European-trained sepoys to the Indian armies of that time. The Nawāb was fain to allow the French to keep what they had won.

In 1748 a large fleet with King's troops on board arrived from England to avenge the fall of Madras. The whole force was under the command of Admiral Boscawen, who proceeded at once to form the siege of Pondichery.

The town was closely invested for six weeks, but the genius and activity of Dupleix triumphed. The English Admiral had to retire at the burst of the monsoon, leaving a thousand of his men dead in the trenches.

Next year the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored peace between the two nations, and by one of its provisions Madras was given back to the English. The course of this war added much to the fame of the French. They had taken the chief settlement of the English on the East Coast, and Dupleix had repulsed a large English force from the walls of his capital.

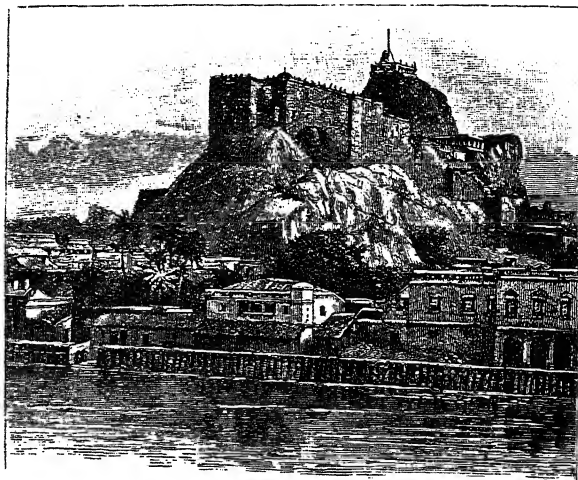
Now this first war was, as we have seen, the outcome of a declaration of war in Europe. The quarrel of England and France was merely carried to India and fought out on Asiatic soil. But the second war arose from purely local causes, while there was peace between the two nations in Europe. It was a contest between the two Companies, who took sides in an Indian quarrel without being authorised to do so by their Governments at home.

**The Second
War:
1749-1754**

To understand how this came to pass we must look at the political situation in South India. On the death of Nizām-ul-Mulk in 1748 his second son, Nāsir Jang, laid claim to and occupied his throne; but a grandson of the Nizām, Muzaffar Jang by name, who was Governor of Bijāpur, was eager to seize the Sūbahdārī, and entered into correspondence with Chanda Sāhib, still a prisoner at Sātārā. The understanding between them was that Chanda Sāhib should become Nawāb of Arcot, while Muzaffar Jang should supplant Nāsir Jang at Haidarābād. Dupleix saw an opportunity of increasing the influence of the French and entered into the plot, paying Chanda Sāhib's ransom to the Marāthās. The two princes now moved into the Carnātic. Anwar-ud-dīn was defeated and slain at Ambūr, chiefly through the valour of Bussy, who led the French troops after two repulses in a final and irresistible charge. Half of the plan was now accomplished. Chanda Sāhib was proclaimed Nawāb at Arcot, and with his ally he marched to Pondichery, where he was given a royal welcome by Dupleix. Muhammad Alī, the son of Anwar-ud-dīn, had fled to Trichinopoly. It remained only

to crush him and Chanda Sāhib would be master of the whole Carnātic. The allies, however, were short of money and wasted time in a fruitless expedition against Tanjore, undertaken in the hope of replenishing their exhausted treasury from that rich principality. Immediately after their return Nāsir Jang came upon them with a large army raised in the Deccan.*

At this critical moment a mutiny broke out among the Frenchmen in the army of the two confederates, and



THE ROCK AT TRICHINOPOLY

the disaffected regiments fell back from their camp before the enemy. Such was the dismay produced that Muzaffar Jang, despairing of success, gave himself up to his uncle.

* It will help the reader to realise the situation, if we place the combatants in two groups. At this stage on the one side were Nāsir Jang and Muhammad Ali, the nominal principals, with their allies—the Marāthās under Raghoji Bhonsle, the Mysoreans, and the English. On the other side were Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sāhib, the nominal principals, with the French as their allies. A Marāthā contingent under Murāri Rao joined the English after the defence of Arcot. We shall see that this combination soon broke up, as both the Mysoreans and the Marāthās laid claim to Trichinopoly, and objected to its being occupied by Muhammad Ali.

Thus by one turn of the wheel of fortune everything appeared to be lost, and the dream of Dupleix that he would make himself the Dictator of southern India was dissolved into thin air. But Dupleix was not a man to be discouraged by a few mishaps. The mutinous troops were satisfied; the Marāthās, who had dared to pursue them, were most rudely repulsed; Muhammad Ali's forces were routed and dispersed: and in an afternoon and an evening Bussy carried the petta and the three-peaked citadel of Jinjī—the strongest fortress in the south. By these swift strokes of success the French name and influence were restored.

While the arms of the French soldiers were winning victories in the field, Dupleix was using other means in secret. He was in negotiation with a Brāhman in Nāsir Jang's camp, and through him succeeded in detaching the Pathān Nawābs of Kaḍapa, Karnūl, and Sāvānūr from their allegiance. The French army set out by night to make an attack on Nāsir Jang's lines. When they fell upon his troops, the Sūbalidār noticed that the conspirators were standing idle without striking a blow. Upon his upbraiding the Nawāb of Kaḍapa for his treachery, the Nawāb shot the Sūbahdār through the heart. Muzaffar, the prisoner, was set upon the elephant of his dead rival and proclaimed lord of the Deccan. Thus the activity and policy of Dupleix brought about a second and even more surprising change of fortune. The French



MUHAMMAD ALI

cause appeared to have triumphed over all odds, and this crowning success was honoured in Pondichery by the pealing of the church bells and the thunder of salutes from the cannon of the fort.

It seemed to the English, who were watching, as if all political influence had passed into the hands of their rivals, while they themselves were naught.

**Clive at
Arcot: 1751**

Muhammad Ali, the refugee at Trichinopoly, had appealed to them for aid, and they had sent him some slight assistance; but they had withdrawn their contingent from Nāsir Jang's army before the final blow fell upon him. Now they roused themselves to more vigorous action. An English garrison was thrown into Trichinopoly; but it was besieged and had been reduced to sore straits, when Clive came forward with his proposal. He urged the President of Madras to strike a blow at Arcot, the capital, in the hope of drawing off at least a portion of the besieging army at Trichinopoly. At the head of two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoys he marched the sixty-four miles from Madras to Arcot in five days, and pushed on into the town heedless of a terrific thunderstorm that broke upon the heads of his little force. As had been foreseen, Chanda Sāhib weakened the army before Trichinopoly by sending his son with a large corps to recover his capital from the bold intruder. For nearly two months the tiny garrison beat off all attacks upon the weak and ruinous walls of the fort, and repulsed the grand assault with heavy loss on November 24th, 1751. The capture and defence of Arcot put a new spirit into the supporters of Muhammad Ali's cause. An English army was despatched under Major Stringer Lawrence and Clive to the relief of Trichinopoly. The French army, ill directed by Law, was withdrawn into the island of Srīrangam. There it was hemmed in by Lawrence and compelled to surrender in June, 1752. Chanda Sāhib was made a prisoner and was put to death by the General of the Tanjore army, whose master had several old scores to settle with him.

But Dupleix was still not at the end of his resources. A dispute about the possession of Trichinopoly broke out among the allies of the English immediately the place had

been relieved; and Dupleix succeeded in detaching the Mysoreans under their Daḷavāyi, or Commander-in-Chief, and the Marāthās of Murāri Rao of Gooty from the confederacy. Murtaza Ali, the murderer, was set up as a candidate for the nawābship, and the struggle was commenced over again. Major Lawrence was obliged to come once more to the rescue of Trichinopoly, now invested by the French, the Marāthās, and the Mysoreans; and he defeated the French in three engagements in 1753.

If, however, on the whole things had fared ill with the French in the Carnātic, in another quarter, the Deccan, the genius of Bussy had won for them a commanding position. Muzaffar lived only for two short months in the enjoyment of his title.

**Bussy in the
Deccan**

On the homeward march he quarrelled with the feudatory Nawābs, and though he defeated them in battle, he was himself slain in the pursuit. Bussy at once set up Salābat Jang, another son of Nizām-ul-Mulk, as Sūbahdār. Salābat Jang was a weak prince, who soon learnt to lean with all his weight upon the French. Indeed they were almost the only trustworthy party in his kingdom.

Several attempts were made to get rid of Bussy by jealous Dīwāns and other intriguers; but he defeated their every move by his skill and cool courage and the perfect discipline of his little army. In 1753 Bussy



MAJOR STRINGER LAWRENCE

received for the support of his contingent the grant of a large territory on the east coast, known as the Northern Circārs and estimated to bring in a revenue of forty lakhs. How all these advantages were lost will appear shortly.

This irregular and unauthorised warfare of their servants in India had long engaged the attention of the

**The Recall of
Dupleix**

Directors of the Companies at home. They complained bitterly that it had swallowed up all the profits of their trade and burdened them with debt. The blame was put by many on both sides on the shoulders of Dupleix. At last, after the two Companies and Governments had held consultations and exchanged views, the French Government sent out Godeheu as King's Commissary with orders to make peace and to send Dupleix home. He arrived at Pondichery in 1754; and on October 14th Dupleix, escorted by the whole town, many of the citizens in tears at his disgrace, walked down the shelving strand to embark for France.

Dupleix appeared to his English adversaries of that age to be merely a crafty schemer, aided by a clever woman. He had, however, few resources beyond his own diplomacy. The French Company left him at times without ships or men or money; the government of France was conducted by a weak king and a frivolous and dissolute aristocracy; and the people, oppressed and famine-stricken, were ripening for the horrors of the Revolution. On the other hand, the English Company enjoyed a regular and extensive trade, and were able to furnish their servants with the sinews of war: England too had passed through her time of trouble, being now ruled by a constitutional monarch with the supremacy of Parliament firmly established. Like other Frenchmen, Dupleix copied Indian manners and customs, and in his methods he was too ready to follow the customary crooked ways. He failed, partly, because India had had enough of the old—the weapons of intrigue being as dangerous to those who use them as to those against whom they are directed.

Dupleix has been accused of being vain-glorious. Fond of display he certainly was. After his victory over Nāsir Jang he is credited with the intention of founding a city, to be called after him Dupleix Fathābād; and it is

said that a pillar was to have been erected on the site bearing a record of his achievements. But the intention was never carried out. The real ruling passion of Dupleix was his desire to extend the honour and power of the French name: his soul was fired by the sentiment of glory as that of the greatest English captains answered to the call of duty. He was seen at his best, when the King's Commissary read out in the Council Chamber at Pondichery the sentence of his disgrace and dismissal, and the voice of Dupleix alone broke the silence, crying "*Vive le Roi*—Long live the King." He had spent strength and fortune in the service of King and country: his reward was that he died ten years later in Paris a pauper.

Godeheu was for making peace at any price, and in January, 1755, the terms of a treaty were drawn up by himself and Saunders, the President of Madras. Both French and English were to abjure Mughal titles and to keep from meddling in political affairs. The treaty needed to be confirmed by the Directors in Europe, and until their sanction had been received, each party was to remain as it was, without making any military move. Godeheu then sailed back to France, leaving de Leyrit in charge at Pondichery.

**The Third War
with
the French :
1757-1761**

The proposed arrangement was soon found to be impracticable. First the English and then the French violated its provisions; and both sides also had knowledge that war must soon be renewed between France and England. Admiral Watson and Clive sailed from England before the armistice was concluded and arrived in Bombay intending to unite with the Marāthās in an attack on Salābat Jang. Since this project had now become unlawful, they employed their fleet usefully in suppressing those pests of commerce, the pirates on the Marāthā coast. Gheria, or Vijayadrug, the old stronghold of Angre, was taken in 1756. Clive and Watson kept the treasure, but delivered up the fort to the Marāthās. They then sailed for Madras, whence they were called north to Bengal by the news of the capture of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula. Official information that war had been declared between

Meanwhile in France a formidable armament was being fitted out under Count de Lally, a brave soldier with a European reputation, but hot-tempered and imperious. Two thousand infantry, among the best in the French army, were embarked and reached Pondichery in 1758. Lally came out with a fixed idea that the colonial government was corrupt through and through, the Company being defrauded by private trade and bogus contracts. From the first de Leyrit and he were at loggerheads. The General found that no preparations had been made for his coming. There were no cattle to drag his guns, no carriers for his baggage, and no accumulated stores of grain. The Governor's defence was that he had no money to provide these things. In spite of all obstacles, Lally conveyed his army to Fort St. David and took it—a feat which the commanders of Dupleix had essayed more than once in vain.

Then Lally made ready for the siege of Madras. He recalled Bussy from Haidarābād and Moracin from Masūlipatam, and thus destroyed the French influence in the Deccan; for Conflans, who was sent to take their place, proved quite unequal to his duties. Clive, with his wonted daring, replied to a request of the Rāja of Vizāgapatam for help against the French. He accepted a great risk and sent the larger part of the troops in Bengal southward under Colonel Forde. Conflans was defeated at Kundūr in 1758 and shut up in Masūlipatam, where he surrendered the next year. Salābat Jang, who hovered undecidedly on Forde's flank afraid to attack him, now came to terms. He agreed to renounce the French alliance, and conferred the Northern Circārs on the English. Thus in one short campaign was the French dominion in the Deccan overthrown.

We must, however, follow up the fortunes of the Count de Lally. He scraped together such transport for a siege-train as could be found, and, with his army chest ill replenished, marched to Madras where he occupied the petta of Blacktown (now Georgetown). Bussy was sullen and served him ill, and from the first there was little chance of success. The money and powder were nearly all spent,

**de Lally's
Campaign**

**Lally's
Failure at
Madras**

and officers and soldiers alike were starving and mutinous, when the arrival of Admiral Pocock's fleet in February, 1759, made it useless to carry on the operations any longer. Lally fell back towards his base. It is said that so bitter and malignant was the feeling of his enemies at Pondichery that they openly exulted in this discomfiture; while their city, in the eyes of the French General, was "a Sodom, which the fire of the English, in default of the fire of heaven, will sooner or later inevitably destroy." That fire was not far off. The decisive battle was fought at Wāndiwāsh, where the English were under the command of Colonel Eyre Coote. The French army was utterly defeated and Bussy was taken prisoner. Lally drew off his shattered forces to the protection of the walls of Pondichery; and after the English had reduced most of the fortresses in the occupation of the French in the Carnātic, they laid siege to the capital. There was no hope of any succour from the sea, and the town capitulated in January, 1761, the surrender of Jinjī and Mahé following immediately. The unfortunate Lally returned to his native land, where he was put on his trial, condemned for betraying his country, and beheaded.

Though the Treaty of Paris restored Pondichery to the French in 1763, they were never again able to contend on equal terms with the English in India. "The Perpetual Company of the Indies" died ingloriously in 1769. We have already indicated some of the causes of the French failure. The English had the advantages of a solid commerce, naval superiority, settled government at home, and perhaps too, we must add, of a less jealous temperament and greater capacity for united action. Great Britain was an island State, maintaining and increasing her fleets in all waters and not engaged in a continental struggle beyond the limit of her desire or strength. France, on the other hand, under evil direction allowed her resources to be drawn away to and exhausted in a land contest with half the powers of Europe. France lost India as she lost Canada—at the same time and for the same reasons.

CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY INTERCOURSE OF EUROPEAN NATIONS WITH INDIA.

- 1497 Cabot discovers New-foundland.
- 1498 Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut.
- 1510 Albuquerque takes Goa.
- 1560 The Inquisition instituted at Goa.
- 1577-80 Drake sails round the world.
- 1581 Holland issues Declaration of Independence, making William of Orange king.
- 1588 Defeat of Spanish Armada.
- 1600 The London East-India Company incorporated.
- 1602 The Dutch East-India Company incorporated.
- 1612 Best defeats Portuguese off Surāt.
- 1615 Dowton defeats Portuguese Viceroy off Surāt.
- 1612-15 Sir Thomas Roe at the Mughal Court.
- 1623 Massacre of Amboyna.
- 1639 English acquire Madras.
- 1643-1715 Louis XIV is King of France.
- 1664 The French Company under Colbert incorporated.
- 1649-60 The Commonwealth in England.
- 1660 The Restoration.
- 1668 English Company takes over Bombay from Charles II.
- 1674 Martin goes to Pondichery.
- 1686-90 Company's war with Aurangzib.
- 1688 The Revolution in England.
- 1690 Job Charnock founds Calcutta.
- 1697 Peace of Ryswick.
- 1698 New English Company receives Charter.
- 1702 Act of Union passed.

CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE (*Contd.*)

- 1706 Death of Martin at Pondichery.
- 1708 Godolphin's award consummates union of two English Companies.
- 1721-1742 Walpole is Prime Minister of England.
- 1723-1774 Louis XV is King of France.
- 1725 French take Maihi
- 1727-1760 George II is King of England.
- 1735 Dumas becomes Governor of Pondichery.
- 1740 Marāthās invade Carnātic; Dost Ali Khān slain in pass of Damalcheri.
- 1741 Dupleix becomes Governor of Pondichery.
- 1745-49 *First War of French and English.*
- 1746 La Bourdonnais takes Madras.
- 1746 Battle of Adyār.
- 1748 Boscawen fails to take Pondichery.
- 1748 Nāzir Jang succeeds Nizām-ul-mulk as Sūbadār of Deccan.
- 1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1749 Battle of Ambūr; Anwar-ud-dīn slain.
- 1749-54 *Second War of French and English.*
- 1751 Salābat Jang becomes Sūbahdār of Deccan.
- 1751 Clive takes and holds Arcot.
- 1752 Stringer Lawrence relieves Trichinopoly.
- 1753 Salābat Jang assigns Northern Circārs to Bussy.
- 1754 Recall of Dupleix.
- 1756 William Pitt becomes Prime Minister of England.
- 1757-61 *Third War of French and English.*
- 1757 Clive and Watson take Chandranagar.
- 1756-63 The Seven Years' War.
- 1758 Battle of Kundūr; English take Masūlipatam from Conflans.
- 1759 Quebec taken by Wolfe.
- 1760 Battle of Wāndiwāsh.
- 1761 Surrender of Pondichery.
- 1763 Peace of Paris.

CHAPTER XV

The Rise of the British to the Supremacy

A.D. 1757-1805

We have seen that for nearly one hundred years, during the seventeenth century, the English were content to act as simple merchants, following a policy of quiet trade. Then, towards the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, they entered into a contest with the French, the end of the struggle being that their most dangerous European rivals were removed from their path. We are now to trace their progress during the next fifty years towards the supremacy; for we shall find that shortly after the dawn of the nineteenth century the Company was in reality, if not in name, the Suzerain or Paramount Power in India,

The two developments of prime importance to be observed in this period are:—first, the course of British conquest and annexation, and second, the beginnings of civil government.

The English Governors followed one or other of three policies which were advocated at various times. These

The Three Policies

were the policy of Non-Intervention, of the Balance of Powers, and that of establishing a British Supremacy. Those who favoured the first held that the duty of the Company was limited to guarding what it had won, and that it had no right to interfere in the affairs of other Indian States, and would gain nothing by pursuing such a course. Even Clive, the conqueror of Bengal, warned the Board of Directors against any further extension of their territory, assuring them that it was certain to be attended with many inconveniences and heavy loss.

But experience proved that it was quite impossible to follow a counsel such as this. The British were surrounded by neighbours who neither understood nor

respected a Government, which remained always on the defensive and would advance, under no circumstances, beyond its borders. Such an attitude merely invited an enemy to attack. Vansittart, President in Bengal from 1760 to 1764, was neither the wisest nor the strongest of the early English administrators, but he wrote with truth to the Directors of the Company:—"Our connexions in this country are at present on a point, where they cannot stand; they are either too great or too little." The English had to choose between going forward and going back: remain at one stay they could not. There was also a higher motive at work than sheer political necessity. The English valued law and order for others as well as for themselves, and they could not look on idly, while pillage and murder were being transacted beyond their borders, sometimes among their friends and allies. Thus it happened that a man like Cornwallis, of perfect integrity and peaceable intent, who came to India committed to the doctrine of non-intervention, was drawn into a great war and himself conducted one of the chief campaigns of the period.

For similar reasons it was found impossible to institute or preserve a Balance of Powers. The aim of this system was to maintain a number of sovereign States on terms of equality, the British acting as a kind of umpire among them and preventing any one party from greatly surpassing or overwhelming another. The Marquis Wellesley frankly abandoned both these earlier methods and pursued with energy and decision the policy of establishing a British Supremacy. He was convinced that in no other way could that permanent peace be secured which was essential to the welfare and progress of the peoples of India. Though the course of conquest was not complete, when Wellesley laid down the office of Governor-General, yet he had made the Company the first power in India, and there was no State which might do battle with it for the supremacy with any hope of success.

The chief parties in this contest were the States of the Marāthā Confederacy under the Peshwā at Poona, Sindhe, Holkar, and the Rāja of Nāgpur; the Mysore State, which under Haidar Alī and Tipū Sultān had come into the front rank; the Haidarābād State, under Nizām

Ali; and the British. In the corner of the north-west the Sikhs were being gathered into a powerful kingdom, but their time was not yet. The great leaders on the side of the English were Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, and Wellesley.

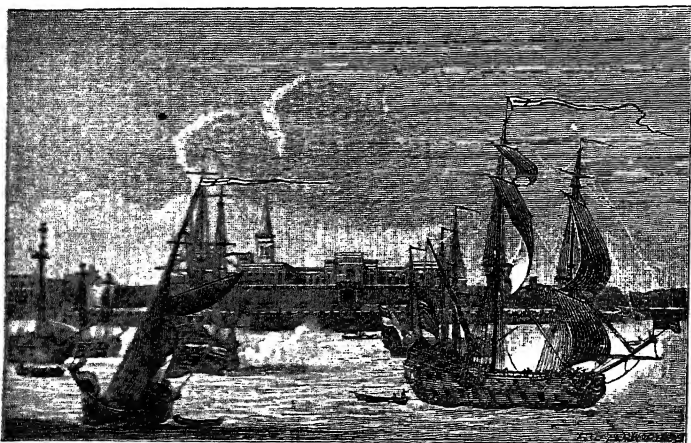
Even more important than the course of military conquest is the beginning of civil administration. The Company's servants were a body of merchants, whose first duty had been to look after the financial interests of their 'Honourable Masters'—the Directors and Proprietors.

The Organisation of Government It is true that they had served an apprenticeship in government; for they had been entrusted with the powers of enlisting soldiers, making war or peace, collecting revenues and dispensing justice within the narrow limits of their settlements. Here they had preserved admirable order, and their diligence, honesty, and stoutness of heart had carried the Company through many troublous times. But, nevertheless, they were ill-prepared for the vast responsibility which came upon them, when the Province of Bengal fell into their hands along with large tracts in southern India.

The end of a commercial corporation is quite legitimately profit: the end of government is the good of the people. It was necessary, therefore, to substitute the first principles of enlightened government for the maxims of the counting-house. The defects in the Company's system and in the training of their servants were never seen more clearly than at the beginning of this period. The record of the proceedings of the English in Bengal from 1757 to 1765 is justly regarded as the darkest page in the history of British India. The agents of the Company were now possessed of such power that they could make or unmake princes; and many of them used their power for personal gain. Both the Nawāb and his people were plundered and oppressed by factors and merchants in haste to get riches. Government had to be delivered from the clutches of greed.

The wonderful change in the position of the Company was bound to attract notice in England. At this time the English House of Commons was made up chiefly of the

members of the old noble families, whose rank or wealth enabled them to retain or purchase seats in **Parliamentary Control** Parliament for themselves or their nominees. They viewed with indignation the return of the young men from the east, whose wealth and style of living threw the old nobility into the shade and enabled them to buy half-a-dozen boroughs for their friends and followers. But there was a higher influence than this aristocratic jealousy at work. England in the second half of the eighteenth century was at the commencement



FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA

By kind permission of the India Office

of a new phase of her life. The invention of the steam-engine was beginning to work an industrial revolution, drawing the people from the villages into the work-shops of great manufacturing cities; the artisans and labourers were feeling their way towards a popular franchise; and under the influence of a revival of the Christian religion just and humane sentiment was daily gathering force and demanding the abolition of such iniquities as the traffic in and holding of slaves. As Walpole had been the type of the cynical materialism of an earlier generation, so the

Pitts—father and son—were the spokesmen of the nobler spirit of the new age. The conscience of the nation demanded that the Indian administration should be made to conform to justice. It must aim at the welfare of the people ruled and not at the gain of the rulers. The process of distinguishing and separating the functions of the British Government in India from those of a trading body was not complete till 1833, when the Company's last monopoly, that of the trade with China, was abolished.

Thus, at the beginning of this period, the Company was in need of a new guiding principle. It was also without either a political organisation or a body of servants, who were qualified to act as civil rulers. There were three Presidencies, each acting independently of the others and taking its orders from the Board in London. Such an arrangement could not but lead to confusion, and it was necessary that the Company's system should be re-cast. This was done by two Acts of Parliament, which became law during the administration of Warren Hastings. In 1773 the **The Regulating Act : 1773** Regulating Act was passed by the Government of Lord North. It established at Calcutta a Council, consisting of the Governor-General and four members. The Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were made subject to its control. For the right administration of law a Supreme Court was instituted with a Chief Justice and three puisne judges nominated by the Crown. It was ordered that papers having to do with military affairs, revenue, and justice should be submitted to certain members of the English Cabinet. No civil or military officer of the Company might accept presents from any Indian prince or his agents, or engage in any kind of trade. No British subject in India was to lend money at a higher rate of interest than 12 per cent. Thus was commenced the system of the "Double Government," as it has been termed, the administration being carried on by the agents of the Company subject to ministerial and parliamentary supervision.

Pitt's Bill of 1784 went farther in the direction of control by Parliament. It reduced the number of Councilors from four to three; it established in England a Board

of Control, consisting of six members, the President of which virtually became a new Secretary of State for India; it curtailed the power of the Court of Directors by appointing a Secret Committee of three for the despatch of business requiring haste and silence. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief were to be nominated by the Court of Directors, but the nomination needed to be approved by the Crown, which also had the right to recall these and other officers. It was declared to be 'repugnant to the wish, honour, and policy of the British nation to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India'; and the Governor-General and his Council were forbidden to declare war against or enter into treaty with any of the princes of India without the express authority of the Court of Directors or the Secret Committee, save in a case of urgent need.

These two Bills, therefore, created a proper machinery of Government, and they also decided, in part, who were to be the persons entrusted with the working of that machinery. The Parliament did not assume the task of governing directly, but by making the consent of the Crown necessary in the great appointments, it guaranteed that the highest officers should be chosen from among men who had had a training in statesmanship. The appointment of Cornwallis marks an epoch; for he was one who had never been a servant of a trading corporation. The Company itself soon began to choose for the subordinate positions those who were fit, by character and attainments, to exercise the new and higher duties it was now called upon to discharge; and Wellesley by founding the College of Fort William at Calcutta made a first provision for the training of cadets for the public service. This institution had a short life, but its place was taken by the College at Haileybury. The process of transferring the functions of government to the most suitable agents may be said not to have been completed till 1858. Then the Crown and Parliament took back the trust they had committed to the Company, and the regulation of the Civil Service came under parliamentary supervision.

The history of the English in India may be summed up in four words. They came to India to trade; to trade

in safety they had to conquer; having conquered, they began to rule; having begun to rule, they could only rule according to the principles of government recognised by them and through the proper agents—the Crown and Parliament. During this period we shall watch them, not without many blunders and some crimes, commencing to build up the fabric of their civil administration—instituting Councils and Courts, selecting and training a corps of civil officers, and compiling a body of laws and regulations. To conquer is always and everywhere easier than to govern.

Keeping these leading ideas in mind, let us turn now to trace the course of events.

CLIVE IN BENGAL: A.D. 1757-1767.—In 1756 Ali Vardī Khān, the Nawāb of Bengal, died, having appointed as his successor a grandson named Sirāj-ud-daula. It was an ill choice, for the prince was both dissolute and cowardly. He found fault with the English settlement at Calcutta for giving shelter to one of his subjects and marched against it with a large army, expecting to find a rich booty in the Company's godowns. The President, Drake, with many of the English inhabitants, fled on board ship and sailed down the river, leaving the defence to a small force under Holwell. After a brief resistance the garrison surrendered, and the prisoners, one hundred and forty-six in number, were thrust into a small guard-room on a stifling evening in June. In the morning only twenty-three were brought forth alive. The atrocity of the 'Black Hole of Calcutta' aroused an intense feeling against Sirāj-ud-daula; and the largest available force was collected at Madras and after a delay of several months was sent north under the command of Clive and Admiral Watson, who had opportunely arrived in the southern Presidency. Calcutta was recovered without difficulty, and the army of Sirāj-ud-daula, when it ventured near, was put to flight by a night attack. Then the English commanders turned their forces against Chandranagar, the chief settlement of the French in Bengal, and quickly reduced it by a combined bombardment from the ships in the river and batteries on the shore.

The character and government of Sirāj-ud-daula made him despicable even to his own nobles and subjects.

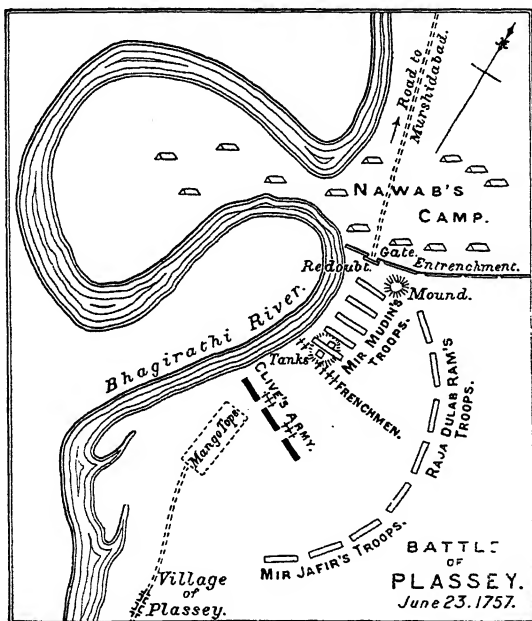
**The
Red Paper**

Clive and Watson entered into a conspiracy with Mīr Jāfar, the Commander-in-Chief, undertaking to put him on the throne for a large reward. In this negotiation Clive was guilty of the deceit, which is the blackest stain on the record of his public service. Aminchand, a merchant, was employed as a go-between; and towards the end, when all parties had committed themselves beyond the possibility of retreat, it is said that he threatened to betray the plot to the Nawāb, unless he were promised thirty lakhs of rupees. Two copies of the agreement were drawn up, one on red and one on white paper. The red copy alone contained the provision for Aminchand and was shown to him. It was signed by Clive, and the signature of Watson, the English admiral, who sought to salve his conscience by refusing to put his hand to it, was added by some one else. When the plot had proved successful, Aminchand was told how he had been duped, and that there was no intention of paying him his thirty lakhs. Clive's defence was that he was dealing with a greedy blackmailer and traitor, who had put the lives of many in peril; and that it was necessary to counter and defeat him with his own weapons. The judgement of later days has not acquitted Clive. His offence, compared with the devices commonly resorted to by the Indian princes of that day, seems trivial indeed; but it must be judged by the standard of the English themselves. Whether as merchants, soldiers, or statesmen, they had acquired in India a reputation for truthfulness and good faith, which was the source of much of their strength. Clive's trick was more than a crime: it was a political blunder.

The time for action having come, the English army was marched towards Murshidābād, the capital. Sirāj-ud-daula had gone into camp at Plassey, where he awaited the onset of the enemy. Clive had with him little more than three thousand men, of whom about one third were Europeans. The Nawāb's army consisted, according to some accounts, of 9 infantry and 18,000 cavalry. The odds appeared

**The Battle of
Plassey : 1757**

to be so heavy that even Clive hesitated to attack. There was no certain news from Mīr Jāfar and Clive doubted whether he would keep his engagement. He called a council of his officers, and himself gave his opinion against continuing the advance and offering battle. Major Eyre Coote spoke hotly on the other side, but the majority agreed with their chief. Clive seems to have retired to a



grove of trees, where he reviewed the situation again, and resolved to go forward and fight.

The combat, which followed on June 23, 1757, though one of the most momentous in its results in the history of India, is also one of the least heroic. The courage lay in the earlier decision of Clive to cross the river; for, as soon as battle was joined, the weakness of the enemy stood revealed. Sirāj-ud-daula brought out his forces from

their trenches, and cannonaded the English in the forenoon. Very little damage was done; for their infantry lay secure within a tope and behind a bank. The fire of Clive's guns, however, wrought considerable havoc among the Nawāb's troops. When they retired towards their camp at mid-day, the English commenced an advance. Sirāj-ud-daula, who sat in his tent, agitated by many alarms, lost heart and fled from the field. Mīr Jāfar held aloof with his division, and the small French contingent alone offered a respectable resistance. Murshidābād was occupied immediately, the hapless Sirāj-ud-daula was captured and put to death, and Mīr Jāfar ascended the throne.

He found little happiness in his new dignity. The English exacted large sums as the price of their alliance and as compensation for the losses sustained by Calcutta. Clive alone received about two million rupees, and the Members of Council and chief military officers were paid on an equally lavish scale. Rupees, plate, and jewels were sent in boat-loads down to Calcutta. The Nawāb also made over to the Company the revenues and administration of the district round the English settlement, which became known as the Twenty-Four Parganas.

In the year following Plassey, Clive despatched Forde on that expedition along the East Coast, which ended in the complete overthrow of the French in the Deccan and the acquisition of the Northern Circārs. In 1759 Mīr Jāfar was driven to ask his help in meeting the invasion of Shāh Ālam, the Emperor's rebel son, who had joined forces with the Nawāb Wazīr, Shujā-ud-daula of Oudh. The danger melted away on Clive's approach and for his services he afterwards received from the Emperor himself, as a personal gift, an assignment of the imperial tribute of two lakhs from the Twenty-Four Parganas. One more peril had to be surmounted. The Dutch perceived with alarm the growth of the English power in Bengal. It interfered with and threatened to extinguish their trade. They entered into correspondence with Mīr Jāfar, who was already tired of his allies and masters. The Dutch hoped that he would attack the English from one side, while they advanced on the other. But their fleet and army

**Overthrow of
the Dutch**

were both destroyed, and their settlement and fort at Chinsura were captured.

Thus, in the brief period of four years, Clive had disposed of two European rivals, had set a subservient prince on the throne of Bengal, and had obtained for the Company the revenues of an important district.

His ill-health compelled him to return to England in 1760, and Vansittart succeeded him as Governor of Bengal. The death of Mīr Jāfar's eldest son

**The Period
of Misrule :
1760-65**

raised the question of the succession. The Nawāb's son-in-law, Mīr Kāsim, bought by heavy bribes the consent of the English Council to deposing their ally, Mīr Jāfar. The feeble old man made no resistance, and asked only to be allowed to retire and live in peace and safety near Calcutta. The English soon found they had raised up a formidable opponent; for Mīr Kāsim was an able and patriotic ruler. He shifted his capital to Monghyr to be further out of reach, re-organised his army, and attempted to establish order within his dominion. The Company had the privilege of conveying its goods, for export or import, free of the innumerable inland tolls and dues; but its agents abused the privilege by carrying on, under cover of it, a private internal trade and by granting passes, on payment, to Indian merchants. Moreover, the Company had acquired from Mīr Jāfar the monopoly of salt, which they sold at ruinously high rates to the people of the country. Mīr Kāsim protested vigorously against these evils, and Vansittart and Warren Hastings were appointed to negotiate with him about the free passes (*dastaks*). They suggested that in the internal trade the servants of the Company should pay one consolidated toll of nine per cent. on the value of goods purchased, and be exempted from all other dues; but the merchants of Calcutta would have none of their proposals and refused to accept any compromise. Mīr Kāsim cut the knot at one stroke by abolishing every impost and throwing the trade open to all on equal terms. None can doubt that he was acting within his rights and that the Council was altogether in the wrong.

War was now inevitable. A small English force took Patna in 1763, but it was afterwards defeated and

many prisoners were taken. They were butchered, under the orders of Mīr Kāsim, by a European renegade, Reinhardt, better known by his name of Samru—an Indian corruption of *Sombre*. Ill as the English deserved to succeed, their arms were crowned with victory, for they were led by two commanders of ability. Major Adams thrice defeated Mīr Kāsim in the battles of Katwā, Gheriā, and Udhuā Nullah; and when he fled for refuge to the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh, the allies were overthrown in the decisive battle of Baksār (October, 1764) by Hector Munro, who succeeded to the command on the death of Major Adams.

Such was the situation to which Clive, now a peer, came back. The Council in Bengal had shamefully abused its power by making and unmaking kings for money's sake. Their soldiers were employed as mercenaries, and the officers enriched themselves by taking 'presents'. Some of the factors paid as much attention to their private country trade as to the concerns of the Company. Meanwhile the ryots were suffering from the oppressive monopolies and from the absence of any settled government. These evils had reached such a height that the Directors resolved to take strong measures and sent out Lord Clive to effect reforms. His first duty was to make peace. Proceeding to Allahābād, he drew up the terms of a treaty with Shāh Ālam and the Nawāb of Oudh, which is a landmark in Indian history. Shāh Ālam, now the Emperor of Delhi, conferred the Dīwānī, or revenue administration, of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa upon the Company, subject to the payment of an annual subsidy of 26 lakhs to himself (August, 1765). The English were confirmed in the possession of all their other territories in India, and the districts of Allahābād and Karra were assigned to Shāh Ālam as his personal domain. The Nawāb's kingdom was given back to him; but he was to pay an indemnity of 50 lakhs for the expenses of the war. Clive also made an alliance against the Marāthās, his intention being to remain strictly on the defensive, but to afford help to the Emperor and the Nawāb in case of either being attacked.

Clive's
Second Term
of Government:
1765-67

For the carrying on of the government in the territories assigned to the Company, Clive made that arrangement which is known as his "dual system."

Clive's Dual System

From the year 1765 the Nawāb of Bengal ceased to be more than a name and a figure-head.* He was a pensioned cypher and the whole of the power was really in the hands of the Company. But instead

of itself performing all the duties which belonged to it as the ruler, the Company relegated a large part to deputies whom it appointed. These were Muhammad Raza Khān for the Province of Bengal at Murshidābād, and Shatāb Rai for Bihār at Patna. The whole of the departments of revenue collection, of



LORD CLIVE

civil and criminal justice, and of the police, was left in the hands of these two men without any adequate supervision by the Company. Thus the duality did not consist merely in this, that there was on the one hand the Nawāb, a powerless King, and on the other

* Mīr Jāfar was reinstated after the flight of Mīr Kāsim ; but he died in 1765. His infant and illegitimate son, Najm-ud-daula, succeeded and died in 1766. Saif-ud-daula, a younger son, was Nawāb till 1770, when he also died. The title passed to the third and youngest son, Mubārak-ud-daula, and was held by him till his death in 1793.

hand the Company, an all-powerful Minister; for, in this sense, there may be said to have been a dual system at Poona, and all Indian States had a tendency to run into such a type. The duality was constituted by the fact that, though the Company had become the real ruler, it did not choose to exercise all the functions of its office. Keeping a small part only for itself, it assigned the rest to deputies: there was a complete separation of military power and civil administration. Had the Nawāb ceased to exist, there would still have been a duality, so long as the Company held the sword and the Naib Dīwāns filled its purse and weighed out justice to the people.

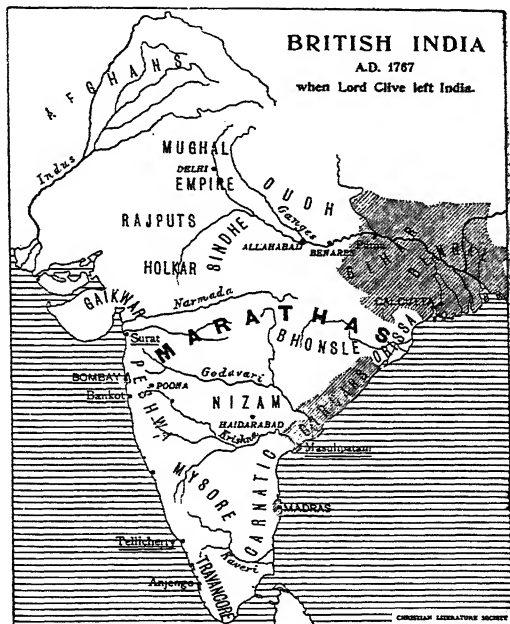
More difficult than these political settlements was the task of repressing the wrong-doing of his own countrymen and reforming the proceedings of the Bengal Council. Clive might have evaded the orders of the Directors, but, in his own words, he chose rather 'to do his duty to the public and cleanse the Augean Stable.' He wrought manfully at his task, as stern and resolute in the Council-chamber as on the battle-field. He compelled the civil and military officers of the Company to sign covenants, abjuring all 'presents.' He denounced the members of the Council for their corrupt and venal dealings and dismissed or suspended half of them. He could not persuade the Company to allow their servants a decent wage, and did not abolish the 'private trade,' by which they supplemented their meagre salaries;* but he reduced the retail price of salt and arranged that this monopoly should be worked by an Association, the profits being distributed according to a fixed scale among the higher servants of the Company. He cut off the 'double batta' allowance of the officers in the army, and, when they threatened to mutiny, suppressed the incipient revolt with equal tact and daring. It was unfortunate that the man to introduce a new and better régime should have been one who had enriched himself under the old bad system; and the young men of Calcutta, who boycotted Clive, did not forget to throw his past in his teeth.

* At this time a Member of Council received less than £300 a year as his salary: a factor was paid about £140.

After two years of such work the Governor returned to England broken in health. We miss in Clive one of the finest traits of character—a delicate sensibility of conscience; but he was generous, loyal to his friends and masters, and crudely honest. When, four years after his return, he was speaking against the Resolutions moved in the House of Commons, and intended to convict him of robbery and

oppression, he urged with justice that he had taken nothing in secret and had accepted 'presents' only when it had been lawful to do so. The verdict of the House was that, while he had received large sums from Indian princes, still he "did at the same time render great and meritorious

service to his country." His most splendid characteristic was his cool courage: he excelled where danger or difficulty confronted him. His old commander, Stringer Lawrence, described him well—"a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind, which never left him in the greatest danger—born a soldier." Clive is in himself an epitome of the history of the English in India—first a merchant; then a



soldier, and last a statesman. Lord Clive died by his own hand in 1774.

Before entering upon an account of the administration of Warren Hastings let us see what has taken place amongst the Marāthās in the interval following upon the disaster of Pānīpat. On the death of Bālājī Bājī Rao, his second son, Madhu Rao, was invested as Peshwā. The government, however, was really in the hands of his uncle, Raghunāth Rao (Raghobā), who afterwards became so well known to the English. Madhu Rao was a prince of ability and spirit, his hot temper being the chief fault laid against him. He soon became dissatisfied with the domination of his uncle, and when Raghunāth Rao resigned office in a pique, the nephew accepted his resignation and promptly appointed a successor. The ex-Regent retired to Aurangābād, where he carried on secret negotiations with Nizām Alī, who had displaced Salābat Jang in 1761; and having formed a league with him, he marched against the young Peshwā. Madhu Rao, seeing that such dissensions must prove fatal to the Marāthā power, left his camp and threw himself upon his uncle's consideration. The two were reconciled, and Raghunāth Rao became Prime Minister again; but it was not for long. His partiality in filling up the great offices of State and his vindictive punishment of his enemies soon aroused feeling against him; and in 1768 the struggle between the nephew and the uncle was renewed. This time it ended in the defeat and imprisonment of Raghunāth Rao.

Nizām Alī naturally took advantage of the disorders in the Marāthā government. Immediately after the battle of Pānīpat he invaded the Marāthā territory and recovered some of the districts, which had been ceded at Udayagiri. He allied himself, now with Raghunāth Rao and Janoji Bhonsle, the Rāja of Nāgpur, against the Peshwā, and now with the Peshwā against Janoji; and so, in one way or another, managed not simply to hold his own but also to get back a good deal of what had been lost.

Madhu Rao's most successful campaigns were conducted against Haidar Alī, of whom we shall speak immediately. Between 1762 and 1764 Haidar had added

to his territories on the north and east, thereby encroaching upon the southern Marāthā country. In 1764 Madhu Rao took the field and inflicted a severe defeat upon him. The war was carried on into the next year, when peace was made, Haidar agreeing to pay 32 lakhs and to restore his conquests. After concluding his first war against the English, with credit and advantage to himself, Haidar Ali felt strong enough to disregard the Marāthās, and the Peshwā prepared for another campaign. Many forts in the Mysore country were surrendered to his divisions in 1770; but Madhu Rao was in consumption and was compelled to quit the field and return to Poona. In the same year his general, Trimbak Rao, inflicted a disgraceful defeat on Haidar, as he was endeavouring to draw off his army from the hills about Melukote to his capital at Seringapatam. The retirement became a rout, and Haidar lost all his guns and camp equipment. The Marāthās laid siege to Seringapatam; but they never shewed much skill in the reduction of fortresses and they were anxious to return to Poona, where the death of the Peshwā was expected daily. Terms of peace were, therefore, arranged, Haidar undertaking to pay 36 lakhs indemnity and a yearly tribute of 14 lakhs. He also ceded Madhugiri and Gurumkonda. The Peshwā died in 1772.

In 1769 the Peshwā's troops crossed the Chambal for the first time since Pānīpat and defeated the Rājputs and Jāts. Mādhoji Sindhe was now rising into prominence as the most influential leader of the Marāthās in the north, and in 1771 he induced the Emperor to leave the protection of the English and accept his escort to Delhi. There the Marāthās took sides in the quarrels between the two factions at the Court and they exacted a partial vengeance for Pānīpat by ravaging the country of the Rohillas.

Old Malhār Rao Holkar died in 1765 without leaving a male heir to the throne; but the widow of his only son, Ahalyā Bai, became Regent and appointed as her Commander-in-Chief, with the right to succeed, the soldier, Tukāji Holkar, though he was not related to her husband's family. Wise, diligent and just, pious and charitable—

**Campaigns
against
Haidar Ali**

**The Affairs of
Sindhe and
Holkar**

Ahalyā Bai was one of the most remarkable women who ever managed affairs of State. She raised Indore from the condition of an obscure village to that of a capital city. She reigned for nearly thirty years, and, when she passed away in 1795, began to be worshipped as a goddess by the people whom she had governed so well.

The year of Pānīpat brought a new figure on to the stage of South India. Haidar Alī was an adversary who

**The First
Mysore War:
1767-69**

gave the English at Madras much anxiety and trouble. He had risen from leading a troop of horse in the service of the Mahārāja of Mysore to being the real ruler of the State.

In 1761 he marched upon the capital, Seringapatam, drove out the Regent, and obtained possession of the minister, Khaṇḍe Rao, whom he promised to cherish as affectionately as a parrot—a promise he redeemed literally by keeping the hapless Brāhman in an iron cage, where he was fed with rice and milk. Thenceforward Haidar Alī was supreme, the Hindu Rāja being placed in confinement. Haidar was a man without education, cruel and grossly sensual, but of great bodily energy and no little military skill. He possessed a shrewd common-sense and knowledge of character, which guided him well in choosing his officers of State. He excited the enmity of the Marāthās by enlarging the territories of Mysore on the north at their expense, and by refusing to pay *chauth*. The Nizām hated and despised him as an upstart of no birth or breeding, and feared him as a rival of conspicuous ability. In 1765 the English, the Nizām, and the Marāthās entered into a tripartite engagement to prosecute a war against Haidar; but the alliance was soon dissolved and the English were left to carry on the war alone. Colonel Smith, the only commander of ability they possessed, won the battles of Changama and Trinomali in 1767; but, on the whole, the course of the war went against them. The Council at Madras was factious and inefficient and mismanaged all its affairs. It was encumbered with debt and unable to pay either for men or for cattle and the munitions of war. While the small English detachments of infantry crawled about the plains after Haidar, that able General laid waste the Carnātic

at his pleasure; and in 1769, by a swift and unexpected move, presented himself with six thousand horse before the gates of Madras. The Council, in a panic and much concerned for their houses and gardens in the suburbs, made peace. It was stipulated that the English and Haidar should support each other against the enemies of either and that all the prisoners and places captured should be restored.

WARREN HASTINGS: A.D. 1772-85.—We must now return to Bengal. Verelst and Cartier succeeded Lord Clive in the governorship of Bengal; but in 1772 Warren Hastings was transferred from the Madras Council and placed at the head of the administration in the Presidency, where he had formerly served many years. Clive was afraid that the quiet and gentle-mannered Governor would be overborne by opposition; but he did not rightly know the devotion to public duty and



WARREN HASTINGS

tenacity of purpose which the new ruler combined with political foresight and wisdom. Slight and frail Warren Hastings may have seemed in body, but he did not shrink from deciding in affairs of the greatest moment; and though no English Governor was ever slandered and thwarted as he was by his adversaries in the Council, yet he wore down all opposition by his tact, patience, and indomitable resolution to stick to his post till he had done his work. The Company was seriously embarrassed by a lack of

money both in England and in India. Although high dividends were being paid upon the stock to the clamorous Proprietors, the Company was really sinking deeply into debt, and the mischiefs arising out of the dual system could be concealed and ignored no longer. Warren Hastings was charged with the double duty of restoring the finances and organizing the civil administration.

It is impossible to record here the many experiments that were made in the effort to bring order out of chaos:

**The Revenue
and Judicial
Services**

we can note only the general result of the changes effected by Warren Hastings. When Clive laid down his office, the Company was acting as Merchant and Soldier, leaving its Indian Deputies to serve as Collectors, Policemen, and Magistrates. This division of duties was bound to produce many evils. In 1771 the Directors came to the notable resolution "to stand forth as Diwān and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." Accordingly the office of Naib Diwān was abolished in 1772 and the two men, who had filled it, were put upon their trial for speculation. They were, however, honourably acquitted, and received marks of the Company's confidence in later years.

The treasury was transferred from Murshidābād to Calcutta. Revenue management was placed, first of all, in the hands of English Collectors in each district, but this plan did not prove a success; for the only men available were young and ignorant alike of the language and the customs of the people. In 1773 the Company's territories were divided into six Provinces, over each of which a Provincial Council was placed. The members let out the farming contracts, supervised the collection of the revenues, and sat in Provincial Courts (*Mufassal Diwānī Adālat*) to try revenue and certain civil suits. At Calcutta there was a *Sadr Diwānī Adālat*, or Supreme Civil Court, to hear appeals from the lower Courts.* In 1780 the

*The Governor-General was to preside in this Court; but it does not seem to have sat at all till 1780, when Sir Elijah Impey was appointed Chief Judge of the Company's Civil Court (see p. 289). Under his direction a code of civil regulations was prepared for the guidance of the lower Courts.

Provincial Courts were sub-divided into two classes, one for the hearing of revenue cases only and the other for civil suits. But in 1781 the Provincial Councils were abolished and a Council of Four was appointed to act as a Board of Revenue for the whole of Bengal, while the number of Civil Courts was increased.

The first intention of Warren Hastings had been that the Company should also assume the direct control of criminal justice. Accordingly it was determined in 1772 to establish in Calcutta a *Sadr Nizāmat Adālat*, or Chief Criminal Court; but the plan was given up. Four years later the headquarters of this department were transferred back to Murshidābād and Patna; and Muhammad Raza Khān and the son of Shatāb Rai were appointed to act as Naib Nāzims, their principal duty being to superintend the Police, or *Faujdārī*, Courts, in which criminal cases were dealt with according to Hindu or Muhammadan law.

Thus the net result of the reforms introduced by Warren Hastings was that the control of the revenue administration had been assumed by the Company's servants—the actual collections being made, as a rule, through Zamīndārs, or farmers of revenue, supervised by the Board of Revenue with a staff of English officers; and that a number of District Civil Courts had been established with rudimentary regulations for their guidance. Criminal jurisdiction, as a thankless and unproductive department of Government, was left still in the hands of the Indian Deputies. The Company was, as before, Merchant and Soldier; but it had now become also Collector and Civil Magistrate in part.

Our view of the progress made in creating a system for the administration of justice will not be complete without a reference to the serious quarrel which broke out between the Company's Courts and the 'King's Court,' as it was commonly called, in Calcutta. It will be remembered that, by the Regulating Act of 1773, Parliament had instituted a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta with a chief Justice and three puisne Judges. This was the gift of the Parliament of England to India for the better government of her peoples. But the Act was so badly drafted

**The Dispute
with the
King's Court**

that it did not appear either over what persons and what cases the Supreme Court had jurisdiction, or what law it was to administer. The power of the Governor-General and his Council to frame regulations for the internal government of the country was not explicitly recognised, neither was the position of the Company's Courts as legal bodies defined. So that it was possible for one of the new Judges to ask:—"Who are the Provincial Chief and Council of Dacca? They are not a corporation in the eye of the law. A man might as well say that he was commanded by the King of the Fairies as by the Provincial Court of Dacca, because the law knows no such body."

The Court stood out for the principle that "Government itself is as much under obligation to the just as the lowest individual": it maintained that persons in the employ of the Company were liable to its jurisdiction, and it attempted to curb some of the gross irregularities and severities of officials, who could only plead in excuse the custom of the country. The Company on the other hand complained that the Court was seeking to extend its jurisdiction over all the inhabitants of Bengal; that it followed the principles of English law, which was unknown and utterly unsuited to the people of India; and that its further interference was likely to weaken the authority of the Government as to make it impossible either to collect the revenue or to maintain order. The struggle was brought to a crisis by the case of the Rājā of Cossijura (1779). This man was a Zamīndār who was sued for debt in the Supreme Court. When he was arrested by the Sheriff's armed party, his rescue was effected by the Company's troops. The Governor-General and Members of Council were then summoned before the Bench, but they declined to put in an appearance. The situation was full of humour as well as of danger, and a large part of the blame for it was laid with those who had drafted the parliamentary bill.

A vigorous and lengthy protest against the action of the Court was sent to the Directors by the Governor-General and his Council; and Warren Hastings found temporary means of settling the dispute by appointing

Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, to preside also over the Company's Chief Civil Court, the *Sadr Dīwānī Adālat* (1780). This conciliatory arrangement was not approved of by the Directors, and the matter was only settled finally by additional legislation. The Amending Act of 1781 defined the duties of the Supreme Court. Its authority was limited to the inhabitants of Calcutta and British subjects in other places. Where the litigant parties were Hindus or Muhammadans, their personal law was to be followed. The Civil and Criminal Courts of the Company were recognised as legal bodies, and none of the officers of the Company's Government could be arrested or tried by the Supreme Court for acts done in the performance of their duty. All revenue cases were declared to be outside its jurisdiction.

Hastings began his economies by cutting down the allowance of the Nawāb to 16 lakhs—a half of what it had been according to the last arrangement; and, while at Benares, he entered into that compact with the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh, which was to form one of the articles in his impeachment in later years. Shāh Ālam, the Emperor, had gone off with the Marāthās to Delhi, and Hastings held, with reason and justice, that by that act he had forfeited all title to consideration from the English and had cancelled the agreement between himself and them. It was not to be expected that the Company would continue to pay a tribute, which would have gone into the pockets of the Marāthās and strengthened their position in North India. The Governor, therefore, discontinued the payment of the annual subsidy of 26 lakhs, and transferred the districts of Allahābād and Karra to the Nawāb Wazīr for a payment of 50 lakhs (Treaty of Benares, 1773). Hastings reduced the military expenditure by lending a British brigade, to be supported entirely by the Nawāb, for a campaign against the Rohillas on his western frontier; and a further sum of 40 lakhs was to be paid on the successful termination of the war. The Rohillas were defeated in the battle of Katra by the British troops, who did most of the fighting, while the Nawāb's rabble rushed in for the

**Financial
Measures**

plunder. Their ill deeds were afterwards charged to Hastings' account.

Meanwhile in England the Regulating Act had become law: we have already described its chief provisions. The

**The Francis
Faction in
the Council**

new Council consisted of Barwell, a civil servant, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and the ablest and best known of them all, Philip Francis. From their first meeting Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed a majority in opposition to the Governor-General. They suspected and accused him of receiving bribes; they criticised and condemned all his measures, especially the Treaty of Benares and the conduct of the Rohilla war. Hastings was helpless at the Council-table, having only the support of Barwell; but, though at one time he thought of resigning, he held on to his post till better days came. When Shujā-ud-daula died in 1775, the Council, in spite of Hastings' protests, drew up a fresh agreement with his successor, Āsaf-ud-daula. They took away the district of Benares, making its Zamindār a feudatory Rāja dependent on the Company; they increased the military subsidy, and permitted the Begums to retain treasure and jāgīrs properly belonging to the ruler of the State.

In this period occurred the incident of Nandkumār. This man was a Brāhman Zamindār with an evil reputation, who had a grudge against Hastings and now saw his opportunity for revenge. He

**Trial of
Nandkumar**

professed to have evidence that Hastings had acted corruptly, and the Francis party eagerly caught at these supposed proofs and would have put the Governor-General on his trial in the Council. But Hastings refused to submit his office to this indignity and rose and left the meeting. These were strange proceedings for the people of Bengal to witness. They were terminated abruptly by the arrest of Nandkumār on a charge preferred against him by one, Mohan Prasād, of having obtained property by means of a forged deed. The case was tried by jury before a full Bench of the Supreme Court. Nandkumār was found guilty and, according to the severe English law of that day, was condemned to be hanged. Suspicion naturally fell upon Warren Hastings of having instigated

this prosecution; but there is nothing to show that he interfered with the course of justice or that Nandkumār was not given a fair trial. His guilt seems to have been proven, but the punishment was barbarous.

In 1776 Colonel Monson died, and Clavering survived him only a short time. For two or three years the use of his casting vote gave the Governor-General a majority in the Council and enabled him to carry his measures through. In 1779, when perils thickened and public affairs needed a strong and united Government, Hastings and Francis came to terms, Francis promising to abstain from further opposition. On this understanding Barwell sailed for Europe, but after some months of peace Francis broke out again, and Hastings, considering that he had broken his pledge, denounced him as "devoid of truth and honour." The result was a duel, in which Francis was wounded, and he had to leave for England to restore his health (1780). There he had the ear of Burke and continued to work against Warren Hastings, laying the train of the great impeachment. Meanwhile, however, in India the Governor-General enjoyed quiet and formed and pursued his plans without unreasonable obstruction.

From these distractions in the Council let us turn to look at the affairs of the two great powers which Hastings had to encounter—the Marāthās and the Mysore State.

Before the Peshwā, Madhu Rao, died, he liberated his uncle and attempted to secure his support for his brother, Nārāyan Rao, whom he nominated as his successor. But there was jealousy and intrigue at the Court, and Raghunāth was seized and again put in prison. In August, 1773, a revolution was brought about by the murder of Nārāyan Rao, the liberation of Raghunāth Rao, and his investiture as Peshwā. Raghunāth seemed to have won at last the supreme power which he had long coveted. Popular opinion cleared him of the guilt of the murder of his nephew, though he confessed to having been a party to the plot for his deposition. His wife, Anandabai, between whom and Gopikābai, the mother of Madhu Rao, there was a bitter feud, is said to have

The
Usurpation of
Raghunāth :
1773

changed a word in the order of the conspirators from "seize" to "slay."

At this time of growing disorder and deterioration of manners and morals in Mahārāshṭrā it is pleasing to recall the memory of one honest man. Rām Sāstri had been the Hindu minister at the head of the department of justice. His way of life was simple and austere, and he is said never to have kept more than one day's supply of food in his home, and to have been beyond the reach of bribes. Telling the usurper that nothing could expiate his crime save his own life and that no prosperity could ever attend his government, he refused to continue in office any longer and retired to his village for a life of religious meditation.

A short time afterwards, Gangābai, the widow of Nārāyan Rao, gave birth to a son, whom the party opposed to Raghunāth Rao, now under the leadership of Nānā Farnavis,* recognised as the lawful Peshwā. Raghunāth Rao, after meeting with some success at first, retired in the direction of Indore in the hope of enlisting the aid of Tukājī Holkar and Mādhōjī Sindhe in his cause; but these two chiefs were won over by Nānā Farnavis and Raghunāth was compelled to flee into Gujarāt.

The English had been for some time in negotiation with Raghunāth Rao, though their correspondence shows how little they understood of affairs at the

**Treaty of
Surat: 1775**

Marāthā Court and of the rights of the case. The Bombay Council was anxious to get possession of Salsette and Bassein, captured by the Marāthās many years ago from the Portuguese.† But though Raghunāth Rao was in desperate straits, he was very unwilling to purchase the support of the English by giving up these two ports, which the Marāthās esteemed not simply because of their commercial value but also because they were trophies of a victory over a European nation. When the Council found the Portuguese preparing for an effort to recover Salsette, they hesitated no longer and took possession by force in December, 1774. After his arrival in Gujarāt, Raghunāth Rao signed the

* The correct transliteration of this name is Fadanavīs.

† The war lasted from 1737 to 1739, when Chinnājī took Bassein.

Treaty of Surāt (March, 1775), by the terms of which the English were to assist him with their troops, and were to be rewarded by the cession of Salsette, Bassein, and the revenues of adjacent districts. A small army, under Colonel Keating, met the Marāthās at Aras, and after a stubborn fight gained a complete victory (May, 1775). This was the first regular engagement between the English and the Marāthās.

But after this battle there was a pause in warfare; for the political effects of the new form of government, created by the Regulating Act, now began to appear.

**Treaty of
Purandhar:
1776**

The Calcutta Council was now supreme, and, when the terms of the Treaty of Surāt were communicated to it, it strongly disapproved of them and sent its own envoy, Colonel Upton, to negotiate with the Government of Nānā Farnavis at Poona. After many delays, the Treaty of Purandhar was drawn up in March, 1776. It stipulated that the alliance with Raghunāth Rao should be abandoned, though he was to be guaranteed a provision of three lakhs a year; and the question of the occupation of Salsette was left for a later settlement. This negotiation had scarcely been concluded, when a despatch arrived from the Court of Directors approving the Treaty of Surāt, and the Bombay Council was encouraged to ignore the arrangements made by the Calcutta envoy.

Meanwhile a French adventurer, the Chevalier St. Lubin, had arrived at Poona, where he was treated with much consideration, though it may be doubted whether Nānā Farnavis believed half of what he said. St. Lubin boasted of his influence at the Courts of Europe and his ability to bring large forces from France. His presence was quite sufficient to rouse the fear and jealousy of the French slumbering in the breasts of the English. The American War of Independence broke out in 1775, and in 1777 France joined the side of America against England. When war with France was declared in Europe, the alliance with Raghunāth Rao was renewed and the Bombay Council prepared for a movement upon Poona.

The command of the expeditionary force was given to Colonel Egerton. It was ill equipped and was harassed

on its march by swarms of Marāthā horse. When it had reached Talegaum, eighteen miles from Poona, it was decided that further advance was impossible and the retreat was commenced. The army fell back as far as Wargaum, where it was hemmed in. Raghunāth went over and gave himself up to Sindhe. Colonel Cockburn, who had succeeded to the command through the illness of Colonel Egerton, and Carnac, the political officer accompanying the army, signed a Convention by which the English were to surrender Broach, Salsette and other recent conquests, and the army was to be allowed to return to Bombay (January, 1779). These conditions were at once indignantly repudiated by the Court of Directors, who denied that the officers had any authority to conclude such a treaty without reference to their Government. Egerton and Cockburn were dismissed from the service, and Carnac was degraded.

While, however, the effort of the Bombay Council had completely failed, Colonel Goddard had led an army across India from the Company's frontier on the Ganges and had reached Surāt in safety. After the disaster of Wargaum there was a short pause in military operations, while negotiations were being carried on with the Regency Council at Poona in the hope that satisfactory terms might be arranged. In the interval Sindhe allowed his prisoner, Raghunāth Rao, to escape, having no desire that Nānā Farnavis should become all-powerful and relieved of the fear of his rival. When, however, the English resumed war, they fought mainly on their own account, expecting a combination against them of the French and the Marāthās, and only secondarily on behalf of the usurper. They entered into an alliance with Fateh Singh, who was contending with a brother for the throne of Baroda, and Goddard's first endeavour was to put him in possession of Gujarāt.

Early in 1780 Ahmadābād, the capital of Gujarāt, was taken, and, after several vain efforts to bring it to a stand, the elusive army of Sindhe was surprised by night and routed. The Marāthā forces in the Konkan were repulsed and Kalyāṇ was occupied; and still later in the season Bassein was besieged and captured, Colonel Hartley

defeating with heavy loss the Marāthā army that marched to its relief. In Mālwa Captain Popham won some brilliant successes, the most notable of which was the daring escalade and capture by night of the strong fortress of Gwālior. Thus during this year the English were everywhere successful.

Early in 1781 Goddard determined to advance upon Poona, but he came near to repeating the disaster of Wargaum. He was unable to penetrate as far as the capital, and, though every attack upon his retreating force was beaten off, he suffered heavy losses before he reached his base below the Ghāts. The English cause, however, prospered in Mālwa, where Major Camac inflicted a further defeat on the forces of Sindhe.

These prolonged military operations had exhausted the resources of the Company, and Warren Hastings was under the necessity of getting money from some source or other for his empty Treasury. In addition to the war with the Marāthās, he had now to find means to carry on a fresh struggle with Haidar Ali. In his financial straits the Governor-General resolved to obtain a settlement with Chait Singh, the Rāja of Benares, and Āsaf-ud-daula, the Nawāb of Oudh; and for this purpose he left Calcutta in 1781 and proceeded up country. In the view of Warren Hastings the Rāja of Benares was a mere feudatory of the Company, which had the power of a suzerain over him. He was the Zamīndār of the district round Benares, and, though the ordinary tribute due from him in times of peace was limited to 22 lakhs, the Governor-General considered it to be quite justifiable for the Company to demand from him extraordinary help, to any amount it saw fit, for the necessities of war. Such special demands had already been made upon the Rāja, who had complied with them unwillingly and in part; and Warren Hastings was now resolved to make an example of the defaulter. On arriving at Benares he intimated to the Rāja that he was in disgrace and ordered his arrest. Chait Singh was taken into custody by two companies of sepoys who had not been provided with ammunition. When a mob fell upon them and slew many, the Rāja escaped from confinement and fled to his

**Financial
Expedients:
1781**

fortress of Rāmnagar across the river. The Governor-General was in a position of some peril and retired to Chunār, until the troops he called up in haste came to his aid. Chait Singh's fortresses were easily taken; but most of the treasure they contained was claimed as prize-money by the army. A grandson of Balwant Singh, Chait Singh's father, was recognised as Rāja and the amount of the annual subsidy was enhanced.

Still in want of money, Hastings applied to the Nawāb of Oudh. The Nawāb was heavily in arrears for the payment of the regular and extraordinary contingents stationed in his territories. He declared that he could not discharge his debts, unless he were permitted to take possession of the treasure and jāgīrs of the two Begums, his grandmother and mother. He maintained that these really belonged to himself, as the occupant of the throne and successor to the late Nawāb, although the Council had allowed the Begums to retain them. Hastings consented to the Nawāb's resumption of the property and to a large reduction of the military charges on condition that the Nawāb cleared up his arrears. The Begums were ordered to surrender their treasure and lands and, when they refused, they were placed under restraint, and their two chief stewards were put in prison and kept on short commons, till they complied with the Nawāb's demands.

For his share in these transactions, Warren Hastings was charged in his impeachment, firstly with the breach of a covenant with the Rāja of Benares by making demands upon him in excess of what had been stipulated, and secondly with being an accomplice in extortion from and cruelty towards the Begums of Oudh.

As the Company was anxious to end a struggle which made so terrible a drain upon its purse, so also Sindhe was weary of a war which was being waged with no advantage to himself and largely at the expense of his territories. He entered into negotiations independently and offered to act as mediator between the English and the Poona Government. Finally in 1782 the Treaty of Salbai was concluded, of which the principal terms were:—(1) that the Marāthās should receive back the territories they

**The Treaty
of Salbai :
1782**

had lost, except Salsette which was to be retained by the English; (2) that no Europeans, other than the English, should be received at the Poona Court, and none, beside the Portuguese and English, permitted to trade in the Marāthā country; (3) that Fateh Singh should be recognised as Gaikwār of Baroda and no arrears of tribute demanded from him; (4) that Raghunāth Rao should be granted an annual allowance of three lakhs. The district of Broach, which the English had taken, was given by them to Sindhe as an acknowledgment of his services in negotiating the Treaty and of his kindness to the prisoners of war. Thus ended the first war of the English with the Marāthās. The chief gains to the Company were the possession of Salsette, and the establishment of a friendly power in Gujarāt—the principality of the Gaikwār of Baroda.

Public affairs were ill managed at Madras during the administration of Warren Hastings. Many of the difficulties of the Council arose out of the "dual system" of the Carnātic. This differed from that of Bengal, for the Company had never received the gift of the Dīwānī in the South. Muhammad Alī was recognised as the ruler, and he collected all the revenues of his territories through his own agents. The Company was simply an ally, or armed servant, acting on his behalf and in his name. The Madras Council soon found that, unless they undertook the defence of the Carnātic against its powerful neighbours—the Muhammadan princes of Mysore and the Deccan and the Marāthās, it would never be safe from invasion: the rabble kept by the Nawāb was altogether unreliable and useless. While they, therefore, recruited and trained the necessary military force, they expected Muhammad Alī to meet the expenses of its maintenance. A jāgīr near Madras was assigned to the Company for this purpose, though the collections were still made by the Nawāb's officers. Muhammad Alī was always in arrears, and the Council was generally pressing him for money. The Nawāb might have cleared his debts, had he been willing to live temperately and to look after and improve his administration; but he seemed to be as incapable of the one as of the other. When dunned for payment, he took refuge in

**The Dual
System at
Madras**

borrowing; and there were always a number of his associates ready to accommodate him with a loan in return for an assignment upon the revenue of some district. Among these usurers the most notorious was Paul Benfield, a servant of the Company, who, even as a junior, lived in better style than the Governor of Madras and whose wife drove in a famous blue chariot in the parks of London.

In 1773, at the instigation of the Nawāb, the English took Tanjore and deposed the Rāja. The Court of Directors were furious at this action, for they regarded the Rāja as under their protection by treaty. Lord Pigot, an old servant of the Company and a former Governor of Madras, was sent out with orders to restore the prince; but Paul Benfield created trouble by putting in a claim for a large loan to the Nawāb, which he said had been made on the security of the Tanjore revenues. A struggle ensued in the Council between the partisans of the Rāja, who were headed by the Governor, and those of the Nawāb. It ended in Lord Pigot being arrested by his opponents and sent to prison, where he died after eight months' confinement (1777). This event sobered all parties, and the Court of Directors ordered an enquiry, which came to nothing.

In 1781, at the height of their distress, the Council compelled the Nawāb to hand over the management of his revenues during the war, on condition that one-sixth part should be paid to him for his private use.

We have noticed already that the Madras Council entered into a kind of defensive alliance with Haidar Ali in 1769, at the close of the First Mysore War. The Mysore ruler seems to have been sincerely anxious to secure the friendship of the English, and he knew full well that he would soon be in need of an ally; for in the very next year the Peshwā, Madhu Rao, brought his hordes of horsemen south and over-ran the Mysore State. The Council at Madras were perplexed to know how to act for various reasons. One was that Muhammad Ali was a bitter enemy of Haidar and would not willingly take part in any movement for his assistance; another was that the Presidency was in a miserable plight, without money or supplies:

**Mysore and
Maratha
Affairs**

Moreover, the complete success either of the Marāthās or of Haidar Ali would have been a menace to the Carnātic. The Council decided, therefore, to do nothing and remained neutral. The war ended in a great humiliation for Haidar, and he seems to have cherished from this time a grievance against the English, who had failed to keep their engagement and deserted him in his hour of need.

In the disorders that followed upon the death of Madhu Rao and the usurpation of Raghunāth Rao, and also after the outbreak of the war between the Marāthās and the English, Haidar Ali made the best use of his opportunities. By the end of 1779 he was master of all the Marāthā territory south of the Kṛishṇā river; and perhaps the power of the kingdom, which he had usurped, may be said to have been at its height in this year.

The Madras Council had deeply offended Nizām Ali by taking over from his brother, Basalat Jang, the district of Guntūr. They gave further offence to both Haidar Ali and the Sūbahdār by attempting to march, without permission, a

**The Second
Mysore War:
1780-84**

British contingent through their territories to Basalat Jang's jāgīr of Adwānī. When the Marāthās made overtures to Haidar Ali, proposing that they should unite in an effort to drive the foreigners out of India, the Mysore chief saw an opportunity of forming a Triple Alliance against the English. Warren Hastings, however, was alive to the danger and at once detached Nizām Ali from the league by renouncing Guntūr.

The immediate cause of the outbreak of hostilities must be found in another direction. When the news reached India that war had been declared against France, the English proceeded immediately to deprive the French of the few places they still possessed. Pondichery was besieged and compelled to surrender once more, and the reduction of Mahé followed. The Madras Council were aware that, in sending an expedition against Mahé, they ran the risk of provoking a war with Haidar Ali. The Mysore ruler, despairing of a useful alliance with the English, had entered into negotiations with the French and was looking to them for help. He did not wish to see them deprived of the one port on the West Coast, through

which their troops and supplies might be sent to him. He, therefore, warned the Madras Council that any attempt on Mahé would be regarded as a hostile act and resisted by him with force.

The war, thus provoked, commenced with a signal success for Haidar and his son, Tipū. At the head of a disciplined and well-equipped army of 80,000 troops, they invaded the Carnātic. A detachment of nearly 4,000 men under Colonel Baillie was cut up at Pollilūr in September, 1780. Sir Hector Munro, who was only ten miles away with the main army, threw his heavy guns into a tank and retired upon Madras. When the news of his defeat reached Calcutta, Warren Hastings persuaded the veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, then a member of his Council, to take charge of the operations in the Madras Presidency and every available man was sent south. The neutrality of the Bhonsle Rāja of Nāgpur was purchased with a present of 16 lakhs, and with his permission and that of Nizām Alī, a force under Colonel Pearce was marched by land from Orissa to the seat of the war.

After much wearisome manœuvring, in which he was sadly hampered by his miserable equipment, Eyre Coote was given battle by Haidar at Porto Novo in 1781. Haidar had thrown up strong entrenchments among the sand-hills and confidently expected a victory. He believed that he held his enemy fast between his lines and the deep sea. But Coote found a way to storm the trenches, and not only saved his own army from what seemed certain destruction, but also inflicted heavy loss on the Mysore troops. Haidar was borne reluctant from the field, a favourite servant assuring him, as he thrust the shoes upon his master's feet, that he might live to fight another battle and beat the English. Two other victories followed—one at Pollilūr, on the scene and anniversary day of Baillie's catastrophe, and the other at Sholinghar. A new Governor, Lord Macartney, had arrived at Madras with the news that England was at war with Holland. He was charged to take possession of the Dutch settlements in India; and at the close of the year Negapatam was captured. Yet, in spite of their success in sieges, and pitched battles, the

**Battle of
Porto Novo:
1781**

English were ill able to cope with Haidar's rapidly moving divisions. Their cattle were dying or dead, and their stores were exhausted. Haidar, on the other hand, had many and grave anxieties. He knew he could never destroy the English on the sea. They and the Marāthās were on the point of making peace, and the French had not come. The old chief came to the conclusion that he had paid dearly for the pleasure of making war on the English—"I have bought a pot of toddy for a lakh of pagodas."

Early in 1782 Tipū achieved another great success in the Tanjore district, where he surrounded and destroyed

**The French
at Cuddalore:
1782-83**

Colonel Braithwaite's force of two thousand men; and Haidar's heart was also cheered by the arrival of the vanguard of a formidable French armament. The fleet was under the command of the able Admiral Suffrein, while the land forces were entrusted to Bussy, who came later, bringing indeed the lustre of a great name, though time had sadly impaired his energies. Cuddalore was in the possession of Haidar, and a large corps of Mysore troops under Tipū effected a junction with the French there. The seas were swept by the squadron of Suffrein; and though he was several times encountered by Admiral Hughes, the two fleets succeeded only in inflicting much damage upon each other without either winning a decisive victory. But the French were able to land troops and supplies on the coast at their will, and their privateers and frigates snapped up many valuable merchantmen, greatly interfering with the Bengal and Madras trade. In December, 1782, Haidar died of a carbuncle on the back. The secret of his death was faithfully kept, till his favourite son, Tipū, had been brought from his operations on the West Coast to take his place at the head of the main army in the Carnātic. Death also removed the great leader on the other side. The veteran Eyre Coote, worn out by his exertions and stricken by paralysis, took ship for Calcutta, whence, after three or four months of rest, he sailed to rejoin the army; but he died two days after reaching Madras, and the chief command devolved upon General Stuart.

After many delays, due in part to a quarrel between Lord Macartney and the Commander-in-chief, supported by the Supreme Council, Cuddalore was invested by an army under General Stuart in 1783; but the besieged were more numerous and stronger than the besiegers. The news that peace had been made in Europe between France and England probably saved the English general from a crushing disaster. An armistice was arranged at once,

while an embassy was despatched to Tipū to inform him that the French must now withdraw from their alliance with him.

In the year 1783 Tipū had been engaged principally in a campaign on the western side. Here an expeditionary force from Bombay under General Matthews had been landed, and had captured many towns and forts. The most important of these was Bednur, the capital of a small kingdom, the treasures of which had



TIPU SULTAN

once enriched Haidar. Matthews foolishly spread out his

**The Treaty of
Mangalore:
1784**

troops in detachments all over the country, and, when Tipū came upon him, he was not in sufficient strength to hold the city. He was forced to capitulate and was sent to join the many captives at Seringapatam. When the French and English envoys reached him, Tipū was attempting to reduce Mangalore. Here a small force had made a heroic resistance for several months

behind the walls of an insignificant fort, and Tipū was not disposed to make peace, till he had been gratified by a surrender. He treated the ambassadors with a studied and childish disrespect, and signed the terms of peace only after the garrison had been starved into submission. The Treaty of Mangalore (March, 1784), which brought the Second Mysore War to an end, required that all prisoners on both sides should be given up, and that each party should restore places taken from the other.

Warren Hastings' long term of office was now drawing to a close. There was peace in India and the Company had survived the worst perils. In our judgement of the work and character of the Governor-General we must remember that he took charge when organised government can scarcely be said to have existed. The constitution, created by the Act of 1773, was like a new machine, ill devised for the work it had to perform. There was friction between the parts, and sometimes the whole apparatus broke down. Between Parliamentary Committee and Court of Directors, Court of Directors and Supreme Council, Supreme Council and Subordinate Councils, Governors and Members of Council, Officers of the King's and of the Company's service, the occasions for misunderstanding and dissension were innumerable. The marvel is not that the government sometimes came to a deadlock in recrimination, but that it was carried on at all. If much of greed, bad faith, and ill temper has been shewn in these pages, let us also remember that nothing but many virtues, genuine and solid, could have enabled the English to work under a system so imperfect and survive.

**The Early
Difficulties
of the
British**

There was an absolute loyalty to their King among the servants of the Company and of the Crown. A Muhammadan historian has written that Hastings was put on board ship and sent off to England, because he was aiming at sovereignty for himself. Warren Hastings was incapable even of forming the idea. Therein lay one difference between him and a Mughal Viceroy. The British officers were the heart and brain of their Indian armies. Their valour in fight and their military science

inspired the rank and file with a contempt for mere numbers and walls. Their tenderness towards the vanquished and active hatred of cruelty brought a new standard into Indian warfare. Eyre Coote was the darling of the sepoys he so often led to victory. If the English rulers were hard and insistent creditors, they were also, as a rule, punctual and faithful payers. Their official correspondence shows much courtesy, mutual forbearance, and the good humour which takes and gives hard knocks. There was a code of honour among them which branded treachery and lying with infamy. It permitted Warren Hastings to shoot Francis in fair and open duel; but it did not allow him to procure the assassination of his enemy in the dark or to poison him by stealth. And, lastly, there was a sense of justice and obligation towards the people which fought with greed and crookedness in the public service.

This period is one in which we see the English learning political wisdom by painful experience, and the higher principles, which should govern public life, gradually overtaking and laying low the baser. There was a core of honesty in the Company and the British nation which brought them through into happier days. The merit of the English is not that they began well, but that, generation after generation, they sought diligently to do better.

The master mind, which regulated and sustained all movements and brought order out of chaos, was that of Warren Hastings. For several years he was engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and his first care was to preserve the existence of the Company's power. None can say that his acts are free from blame, but no gross crime can be laid to his charge. If he erred, it was never from a regard for his own interests, but from an excess of zeal in the service of his country. In spite of political distractions, he found time to lay the foundations of civil government. Beside organising the revenue and judicial services, he caused the first Digest of Hindu Law to be compiled by a Committee of Pandits, and the Muhammadans owe to him the Calcutta Madrāsa. He encouraged the formation of the Asiatic Society and thereby started

The Work of Warren Hastings

the new and scientific study of the literature and antiquities of India.

Warren Hastings left India in February, 1785, in the enjoyment of the esteem and affection of the people of Bengal, and on his arrival in England many honours were showered upon him. But in 1788 the great parliamentary trial commenced and dragged its course through seven long years. Burke and Sheridan emptied on Hastings the vials of their eloquence; yet, in the end, he was acquitted on every count, and posterity has confirmed the verdict. Cruel and unjust as the impeachment was to Hastings himself, it had one beneficial result. It drew the attention of England to Indian affairs and increased the vigilance of the national and parliamentary supervision.

**His
Retirement**

The expenses of his defence swallowed up the modest fortune accumulated by Warren Hastings, but the Company voted him a pension of £4,000 a year. It had been a dream of his boyhood to buy back the old mansion, where his ancestors had lived before the family decayed. He was able to realise the dream and spent the long eventide of his life at Daylesford Manor, in the country of Worcestershire, in the peaceful pursuits of an English country gentleman.

LORD CORNWALLIS: A.D. 1786-1793.—After the departure of Warren Hastings, Mr. Macpherson acted as Governor-General until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. Up to this time the Company had been in the habit of choosing its senior officials to fill the highest posts in India; but Cornwallis had never been previously in the Company's employ. He had served with distinction as a soldier, though it was his misfortune to command the army which surrendered to the Americans at Yorktown. In private life he was known to be a man of the highest character, and in public affairs he had shown an independence of judgement and a single regard for the good of the State, which won for him the respect of all parties. Before he consented to accept office, he asked for an enlargement of the powers of the Governor-Generalship; and the first amendment of Pitt's India Bill was made for

his benefit. It gave the Governor-General the right, in certain circumstances, of acting without the consent of his Council, and enabled him to take the chief command of the armies in the field as well as to preside over the whole of the civil administration. The India Bill was passed at a time when there was a strong feeling against the campaigns conducted by Warren Hastings in India. It laid down a policy of non-intervention, forbidding the Company to enter into any alliances, offensive or defensive, with the Princes of India, or to declare war without the consent of the Board of Control. This policy was quite in accord with the views of Cornwallis. He looked forward to increasing the happiness and prosperity of the Company's subjects by introducing many reforms into the system of government. The noble character of the new Governor-General and his practice and profession of religion did much to correct and refine the manners and morals of the European society of Calcutta.

The best known of his domestic measures is the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. When the Company

The Permanent Settlement in Bengal : 1789-93

determined to stand forth as *Dīwān* and take over the revenue administration, it found that there was a body of *Zamīndārs*, who had been accustomed to make the actual collections on behalf of the Government.

The difference between the amount of the contract and the sum realised from the cultivators, or *ryots*, was the profit of the *Zamīndār*. In many districts the office of *Zamīndār* had remained in the same family for several generations, and had become almost hereditary. Thus the *Zamīndārs* formed a kind of landed gentry. The Company, in its anxiety to increase the revenue, had tried the plan of putting up the contracts for the collections, either of one year or of a term of years, to auction. The result was that many men of no standing or substance came forward and made bids, which they could not make good subsequently. The Government was no better off and many of the old *Zamīndār* families were reduced to poverty. Some change was urgently required, and Sir John Shore, who was appointed to make

an enquiry into the revenue system of Bengal, reported in favour of keeping the Zamīndāri method and of letting the contracts to the Zamīndārs, first of all, for a period of ten years. Lord Cornwallis was of another opinion. He believed that, if the assessment were fixed once and for ever, both the Zamīndārs and the ryots would be encouraged to make the best use of their lands. They would have no fear that Government would enhance its demands, and all the benefits of any improvement in cultivation would go to themselves. The recommendation of Cornwallis was adopted and made law by Act of Parliament; and thus the Zamīndārs from being mere middlemen between the Government and the people, as they had been under the Mughal and Hindu rulers, were raised to a position resembling that of an English landlord, who is the owner of his estate. This 'Permanent Settlement,' as it was called, had some good results immediately; but it was attended by two great drawbacks. It left the Government with an inelastic income, which could not be increased as cultivation was extended or improved and as the needs and expenses of a progressive administration multiplied. It did not completely prevent the older Zamīndār class from being ousted by successful city usurers, while it left the ryots without any adequate protection against the rapacity of their landlords.

Lord Cornwallis finished the work of Warren Hastings. He completely separated revenue from judicial duties, appointing civil judges in each Zillah, or District, with four higher Provincial Courts at Calcutta, Dacca, Patna and Murshidābād, the whole system being subordinated to the Chief Civil Court, or *Sadr Dīwānī Adālat* at Calcutta. He took criminal justice out of the hands of the Naib Nāzims; and the Judges of the four Provincial Courts were directed to travel on circuit through each District for the holding of Criminal Sessions. The Chief Criminal Court, or *Sadr Nizāmat Adālat*, was now constituted by the Governor-General and his Council, sitting at Calcutta and assisted by the Chief Kāzī and two Maftis. The control of the Police was taken over by the District Judges, a Daroga with a staff of constables being appointed

Judicial Re-
forms :
1793

for each rural area. The Zamīndārs were deprived of all their judicial and police powers, and were limited to the collection of their revenues. Thus the circle was now complete. The Company had assumed all the duties of a ruler and abolished all deputies. It was, at last, Collector, Magistrate and Policeman. The law administered was still mainly Muhammadan, each Court having a Kāzī to give advice to the Judge: but some of the barbarities of that law were presently abolished, the punishment of imprisonment being substituted for that of mutilation. A body of civil regulations was being formed by degrees. After Cornwallis the great need of the Indian judicial department was for one uniform, equitable, and civilised Code of Law. This was a lack which, as we shall see, was not supplied till more than fifty years had passed.

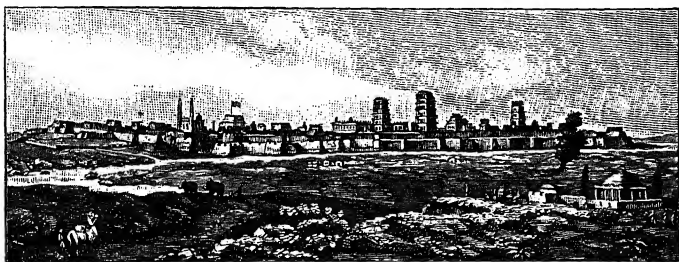
Another great reform, which Lord Cornwallis persuaded the Court of Directors to effect, was to raise the salaries of the officers of the Company. By this he struck at the root of the mischiefs of bribery, 'private trade,' and 'presents.' He also abolished the system of commissions on the sums collected and paid into the Treasury.

In spite of his desire to keep the peace and of the restraints laid upon him by the India Bill, Cornwallis was

drawn into a war with the Mysore State. **Mysore Affairs:** Tipū had now thrown off all pretence of being the minister of the Hindu Mahārāja or a feudatory of the Delhi Emperor. He took the title of Pādshā, and the prayers were read in his name at the Grand Mosque of Seringapatam. Tipū was a better educated man than his father. He was not lacking in courage; but he was inordinately and fatally vain. Whereas Haidar had been a lax Musalmān, Tipū was a zealot in the service of his religion. He seemed to himself to be almost a second Prophet, whose duty it was to destroy idolaters and establish the true faith. The inhabitants of the forests of Coorg, the Christians of Kanara, and the Nairs of the Malabar Coast were surrounded in droves and given the choice of death or Islām. Many thousand captives were led to Seringapatam to be enrolled and drilled in the battalions of Chelas, or disciples. Tipū's

ambitious designs and his persecution of Hindus brought the Marāthās upon him again. In 1786 the Peshwā's Government entered into an alliance against him with Nizām Alī; but, in the campaign which followed, the balance of success seems to have belonged to Tīpū. He consented, however, to pay up arrears of tribute and to renounce some of his conquests in the north, and on these terms peace was concluded.

In 1789 the Sultān invaded the territory of the Rāja of Travancore, and wrought great havoc there. The



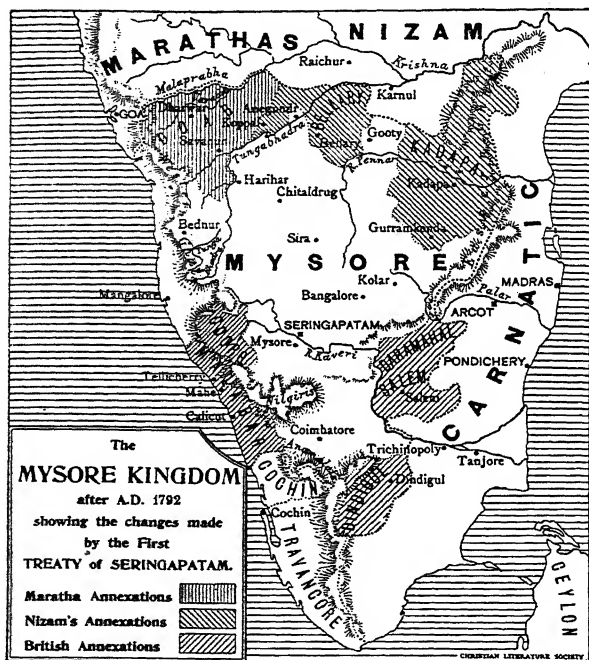
THE FORTRESS OF SERINGAPATAM

Rāja was under the Company's protection and appealed for aid. Lord Cornwallis had been anxious for some time to renew the alliance with the Nizām, from which he was only held back by the restraints laid upon him by Parliament and the Board of Directors. He now hesitated no longer. A Triple Alliance was formed against Tīpū, consisting of the Poona Marāthās, the Nizām and the Company.

The Madras Council began to prepare for war with its customary delays and want of thoroughness: some of its members, for reasons of their own, had no desire to carry on the campaign with vigour. But the Governor-General himself came south and took charge of all the military operations. He ascended the Ghāts and carried Bangalore by storm in 1791. Continuing to advance, he arrived before Seringapatam; but the failure of his supplies and the loss of most of the transport cattle compelled him to bury his

**The Third
Mysore War :
1790-92**

heavy guns and fall back. His Marāthā allies had failed to join him in time with their well-furnished bazaar. At Bangalore Cornwallis refitted the army, and with the best-equipped and strongest force, which the British had yet put in the field in India, marched again upon the capital. Tipū's troops lay in a strongly protected camp on the north bank of the Kāverī under the guns of the



fort; but in a night assault they were driven headlong across the river and preparations were begun for a regular siege.

Before the batteries opened fire, Tipū came to terms. He agreed to pay three crores of rupees as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, to surrender half of his kingdom, and to give up two of his sons as hostages

until payment was complete. Of the ceded territories the Marāthās took those on the north, advancing their boundary to the Tungabhadra; the Nizām received those to the north-east, adjoining his dominions; while the English reserved for themselves the districts on the frontiers of the Carnātic and the Malabar Coast. They also required the Sultān to recognise the independence of the Rāja of Coorg. Mangalore was the only port left to Tipū, through which he had direct communication with the sea.

After the war had been concluded, Cornwallis attempted to form a more permanent alliance with the Marāthās and the Nizām, but there was no real cordiality between Poona and Haidarābād, and the Governor-General soon gave up his attempt.

SIR JOHN SHORE: A.D. 1793-1798.—Sir John Shore was chosen to succeed Lord Cornwallis. He was an eminent civil servant of the Company and adhered strictly to the policy of non-intervention. He was called upon during the course of his administration to decide an important political question—whether or not the Company was bound to assist the Nizām in the war which broke out between him and the Marāthās. We must, however, first trace the course of events leading up to this conflict.

In the negotiations which ended in the Treaty of Salbai, the English had recognised Mādhoji Sindhe as a sovereign and independent prince. Since that

**Madhoji
Sindhe's
Supremacy**

time he had been employed in extending and settling his dominion in North India. He now had a fine body of infantry and artillery trained and commanded by European officers, most of whom were Frenchmen, the whole being under the command of General De Boigne. Nānā Farnavis at Poona was as jealous of as he was alarmed at Sindhe's power. When Sindhe was invited by the Emperor's minister to put an end to the disorder at the Mughal Court, where plot and counter-plot were rife, he gladly accepted the responsibility. The Emperor, Shāh Ālam, came to reside under his protection at Mathurā.

There was, however, a party which resented the Marāthā's interference and guardianship. They persuaded

the Emperor that he had been insulted, stirred up the Rājputs, and tampered with the army of Sindhe. The chieftain found himself in a position of great danger and fled to Gwālior. Nānā Farnavis, though still jealous of Mādhōjī, did not wish to see him destroyed; and besides sending some of the Peshwā's troops to his assistance, he persuaded Tukājī Holkar to lend his help, on condition that all the territory south of the Chambal should be shared among the three. With these reinforcements Sindhe marched again upon Delhi, where in the interval of his absence, as we have related before, the ruffian Ghulām Kādir had taken possession of the palace. The Rohilla fled on the approach of the Marāthā army, but was soon caught and put to death (1788).

Sindhe had now recovered his supremacy in the north; but he was not satisfied and desired to control the government at Poona also. With this end in view, in 1784 he had obtained from Shāh Ālam for the Peshwā the empty title of "Pādshā's Deputy," and—what was more important—for himself, the title of "Peshwā's Deputy." But the rising among the Rājputs made it impossible to put these honours to any use: now, however, the time was favourable. Collecting the brigades of De Boigne, Sindhe marched south to invest the youthful Madhu Rao with his imperial dignity. Nānā Farnavis saw well enough through the sham, but he was powerless to resist. The ceremony of investiture was conducted by Sindhe with the utmost magnificence (1792), and the young Peshwā seemed to enjoy the change from the company of his Brāhman minister to that of the more frank and soldierly Sindhe. The rivalry of Nānā Farnavis and Mādhōjī Sindhe was terminated by the death of the latter in 1794. He left no son and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Daulat Rao Sindhe.

Being once again at the head of the Marāthā Confederacy, Nānā Farnavis summoned its chiefs to the pleasing task of reducing and plundering the Sūbahdār of the Deccan. Nizām Alī had evaded the payment of chauth for several years, and the Peshwā's minister now made

War of
Marathas with
Nizam Ali

a demand upon him for an enormous amount of arrears. The knowledge that the Marāthās would not long leave him alone had made Nizām Alī most anxious to secure a definite pledge from the English; and, when war was imminent, he claimed their help under the terms of the Treaty of Triple Alliance. Sir John Shore, however, came to the conclusion that that Treaty was rendered null and void by two of the parties to it having quarrelled with each other; and that it did not commit the Company to come to the help of the Nizām against the Marāthās. Nizām Alī was left to face the danger alone, and it was only natural that his friendship with the English cooled. He began to entertain a number of French officers and to rely upon the contingent raised and disciplined by them. After the Marāthā demand had been refused with contempt by his minister, the war commenced.

The great Marāthā chieftains now mustered, for the last time in their history, at the summons of the Peshwā.

Capitulation of Daulat Rao Sindhe, Tukājī Holkar, Mādhōjī
Khardā : 1795 Bhonsle, and the leading Brāhman Jāgīrdārs

of the southern Marāthā country were all gathered under his banner. When the two hosts met, Nizām Alī gave the signal for retreat after a slight cavalry skirmish and before the engagement had become general. His troops fell back in much disorder—the Frenchman, Raymond, alone maintaining discipline in his contingent—and lay down to wait for daylight to renew the contest. In the darkness of the night a panic arose and spread through all the camp, and by morning the army had dissolved. The Nizām with a remnant threw himself into the small fort of Khardā, where he was instantly surrounded by clouds of Marāthā horse. After a bombardment of two days he capitulated. Scarce two hundred men had fallen in the combat; and it is said that, when Nānā Farnavis, who was over-joyed at his success, asked the young Peshwā why he looked so sad, he received the answer:—“I grieve to see such degeneracy as there must be on both sides, when such a disgraceful submission has been made by the Mughals, and our soldiers are vaunting of a victory obtained without effort.” The terms allowed to the Nizām were generous, considering his hopeless plight.

He had to cede again the territories in the west lost by his brother in 1760, and to pay three crores as arrears of chauth and war indemnity. He also surrendered other districts to the Nāgpur Rāja and promised to pay him 29 lakhs as arrears of tribute.

Nānā Farnavis was now at the height of his fame and influence, which, however, suffered a speedy decline.

**Baji Rao II,
the last
Peshwa: 1796**

The Peshwā, Madhu Rao II, was in his twenty-first year, and he had grown impatient of guidance and restraint. He had formed a friendship with the imprisoned Bājī Rao, his cousin and a son of Raghunāth Rao. Their intercourse was detected and both youths were placed under a stricter surveillance. In desperation and weary to death of his gilded captivity, the Peshwā flung himself down from the roof of his palace and breathed his last two days later. Then ensued a tangle of intrigue. Nānā Farnavis favoured the claims of Bājī Rao; but another party brought forward his brother, Chimnājī, and enthroned him, and for a few months they prevailed. Nānā Farnavis, however, won over the young Daulat Rao Sindhe to his side, and with his aid Bājī Rao was invested as Peshwā at Poona in December, 1796.

The new Peshwā was eager to be rid of both his masters. As a first step towards liberty, he employed one to destroy the other. Sindhe was encouraged to lay hands on and imprison Nānā Farnavis. Being now virtually master at Poona, Daulat Rao pressed the Peshwā for money, which he needed badly to pay his army and to meet the expenses of his marriage with the daughter of Shirze Rao Ghatge—so soon to become notorious among the Marāthās for his violence and cruelty. The Peshwā suggested to Sindhe that he should obtain what he wanted from the richest of the inhabitants of Poona, and the hint was promptly taken. Shirze Rao Ghatge, as Sindhe's dīwān, carried out his orders with thoroughness, Ministers of the State and merchants were arrested, tortured, and stripped of their money and jewels. The city looked as if it were undergoing a siege or sack; few were seen abroad in the streets and, when men ventured forth, it was in companies and with their weapons

ready to hand. Satisfied at length that no more was to be had, the minister ceased from his brutalities.

Marāthā affairs had drifted into a welter of confusion. The Peshwās, who had reduced the Rājas of Sātārā to mere puppets, were now themselves powerless in the hands of their ministers or vassal princes. Bāji Rao, Daulat Rao Sindhe, and Nānā Farnavis could not trust one another nor was one of them worthy of being trusted. Sindhe, moreover, was carrying on an unseemly quarrel with the widows of his uncle; and Tukāji Holkar died in 1797, leaving his sons to fight out the succession to his throne. The Rājas of Sātārā and Kolhāpur were making feeble efforts to assert themselves again and recover their power.

**The Decay
of the
Confederacy**

In the second half of the seventeenth century Śivājī lent some nobility to the Marāthā cause by making it a struggle for a race and a religion against an overbearing tyranny: at the end of the eighteenth the Marāthā Confederacy was a selfish organisation, as harmful and oppressive to Hindus as to Musalmāns, and, weakened by internal strife and treachery, it was hastening to its downfall. Its best armies were composed of mercenary soldiers—Arabs, Pathāns or Rājputs—disciplined and led by foreign officers. It brought no improved government or higher civilisation to the countries it over-ran, but was represented chiefly or solely by collectors of taxes.

There are only two other events of Sir John Shore's time which we need notice here. In 1795, Admiral Rainier led a naval expedition, which took most of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon and Malaysia. The Cape of Good Hope was also captured from the Dutch in this year. The Governor-General received a peerage for these successes and took the title of Lord Teignmouth.

Āsaf-ud-daula, the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh, died in 1797, and was succeeded by Wazīr Alī Khān. This youth was believed to be of illegitimate birth, and his accession roused grave discontent. The Governor-General intervened, decided against the claims of Wazīr Alī, and set Sa'adat Alī Khān, the brother of Āsaf-ud-daula, on the throne. A new agreement was drawn up with Oudh, by which the fort of Allahābād was ceded to the British, the

strength of the contingent force was fixed at 10,000 troops, and the annual subsidy was raised to 76 lakhs.

LORD MORNINGTON (MARQUIS WELLESLEY): A.D. 1798-1805—

It was high time that a stronger policy was adopted by the British, and the man to devise and carry it through was found in Lord Mornington, who was appointed to succeed Lord Teignmouth. The new Governor-General was one the most accomplished men of his day. In his University



THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY

he was known as a fine classical scholar and an elegant writer of Latin verse, in society he shone as a wit, and in Parliament his eloquence and abilities marked him out for high office. Lord Mornington was called by his friends "the glorious little man." He sought honour and fame and was fond of titles and dignified display; but he ever set the public weal above private interests and was beyond the suspicion of corruptness in public affairs.

When he came to India, he swept Oudh clean of the European adventurers, who had traded on the weakness and vices of the Nawāb Wazīr; and it was soon recognised that nothing but "merit and the capacity to serve" would find favour in his eyes. Ardently desiring, as he did, to extend the honour and greatness of his King and country, Lord Mornington came at once to the conclusion that the only hope for India lay in the establishment of the British as the paramount power; he saw no other way by which

peace might be restored and maintained in the sorely distracted continent. But though the chief events of his term of office are political—the wars he waged and the alliances he formed—he was not indifferent to the improvement of the civil administration. The friend of the younger Pitt and the helper of Wilberforce, the philanthropist, he was not likely to spare any effort for the good of the people entrusted to his care.

The political plan which Lord Mornington early adopted, in disregard of the policy of non-intervention, is known as the system of Subsidiary Alliances.

**The System of
Subsidiary
Alliances**

All of these were of one pattern. Their common aim and result was to bring the various States of India within a protectorate, or “general defensive alliance,” in which the British were recognised as the suzerain power. On the one hand, the Company took upon itself to defend its feudatories against external invasion and internal rebellion; while, on the other hand, the Princes thus protected continued to exercise to the full the functions of internal sovereignty and civil administration. The feudatory Prince was required, as a rule, to receive a Resident and a contingent of British troops within his dominions, setting aside certain revenues for their support; and he renounced the right to enter into negotiations with other States or to take Europeans, other than the British, into his employ, without the consent of the Company. The Paramount Power, on its part, promised to abstain from interference with his internal government. Of this general character were the treaties concluded by Lord Mornington with the Nizām, the Peshwā, Bhonsle, Sindhe, the Nawāb Wazīr and the Regency Government of Mysore, though all the particular features may not be present in every case.

South Indian affairs were the first to engage the attention of the Governor-General on his arrival. At this time the valour and ambition of a France, drunk with the new wine of the Revolution, were keeping all Europe in a state of alarm.

**The Fourth
Mysore War :
1799**

They raised again in India the bogey of the French peril. Napoleon was in Egypt for the express purpose of establishing the French power in the East and

destroying the British dominion in India. Mornington found that the Nizām was supporting a large contingent under French officers, while Tipū was seeking diligently an alliance with the Republic against the enemy who had shorn him of half his kingdom. Since the war of 1792 he had brooded over his losses. If he was a somewhat sadder man, he was no wiser, and passed his time and wasted his resources in idle projects. He created a Board of Admiralty and formed the plan of building a large navy at Mangalore. He introduced many changes into the form of his government, altering the Calendar and the weights and measures, giving new names to places in his dominions and new titles to offices of State, and drawing up a Penal Code, both savage and obscene. In the midst of all these activities, he did not forget his settled purpose to take his revenge.

Mornington's first measure was to come to a satisfactory understanding with the Nizām, who since the disaster of Khardā had been estranged from the British, though in the disorders which followed upon the death of Madhu Rao he had got back a great deal of what was surrendered and had escaped paying the indemnity in full. Mornington set aside the views, which had prevented Sir John Shore from entering into a defensive alliance, with the Nizām, and offered him, without reserve, the protection of the British against all his enemies, including the Marāthās. The Nizām, in return, consented to disband his French contingent and to receive in its place an increased auxiliary force under the British. This delicate and dangerous operation was carried out skilfully without any bloodshed by the officers appointed to the task.

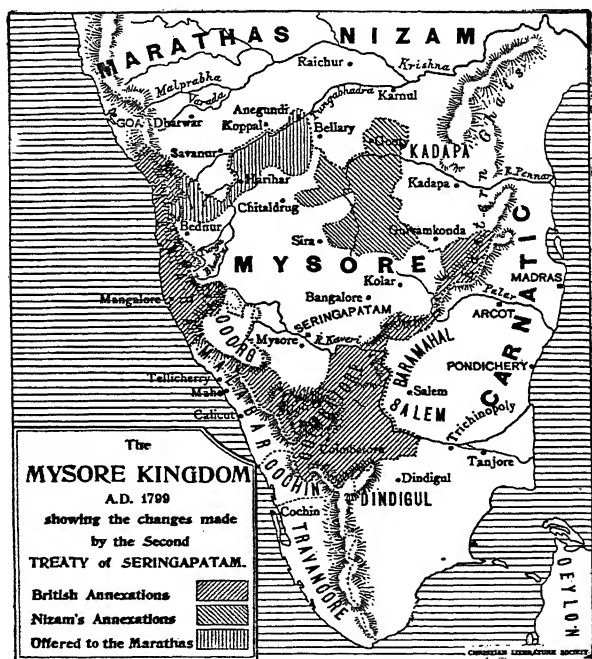
A Frenchman, named Ripaud, the captain of a privateer from the Isle de France (Mauritius), had put into Mangalore for repairs to his ship. He promised the deluded Sultān to procure for him large succours from the Government of the Republic. An embassy to Mauritius brought back a motley collection of recruits, one short of a hundred—the sweepings of the island. They formed in Seringapatam a revolutionary society, addressing the Sultān as 'Citizen Tipū.'

Tipū's dealings with the Governor of Mauritius were not hidden from the Governor-General; and, when he was called to account and asked for an explanation of them, he evaded making any reply. **Fall of Seringapatam: May, 1799** Mornington waited no longer and declared war. Under his masterly direction there was nothing lacking in the preparations. A strong army marched from Madras under the command of General Harris and ascended the Ghāts, while another and smaller force, under the command of General Stuart, was embarked at Bombay, and converged on the capital by way of Coorg. Tipū, after making a futile attempt to crush the Coorg division and being repulsed with loss, turned back and gave battle to the Madras army near Malavalli. Here too he was defeated, and he withdrew to his stronghold to await the issue of a siege. The Sultān fondly hoped that the fortress would prove impregnable; and, when the breach was ready for the assault, he had recourse to omens and Brāhman astrologers. "He is surrounded by boys and flatterers," said one of his best officers, "who will not let him see with his own eyes." Seringapatam was carried by storm on May 4th, 1799; and Tipū fell in a gateway of the inner fort after offering a determined resistance to the column advancing along the outer rampart.

The question of the disposal of the conquered kingdom was carefully considered. It was decided to restore the old Hindu dynasty, and its representative, Kṛishṇa Rāja Oḍeyar, a child of five years of age, was seated upon the throne. A Council of Regency was formed to carry on the government during the minority. Pūrṇayya, who had been Tipū's finance minister, was chosen to act as Dīwān. Some of Tipū's territories were assigned to the Nizām, while the Company annexed Coimbatore and the remaining districts on the West Coast. The Peshwā had held aloof from the alliance; and he and his Court were dismayed to receive the news that the capital had fallen and that the Sultān was slain, while they were still trying to make up their minds which side to take. For this great success Mornington received an Irish marquise.

Before leaving the south, we may notice other important political arrangements which were made by the Governor-General. Immediately on the conclusion of the war, in 1800 a new treaty was drawn up with the Nizām, which has formed the basis of all the relations of the Nizām's Government with the British for more than a hundred years, down to the present time. It was stipu-

**Arrangements
in the Deccan
and Carnatic**



lated that the British Contingent at Haidarābād should be increased; that the Nizām should supplement and support it with an auxiliary force of 6,000 horse and 9,000 infantry in time of war; and that the expenses of the Contingent should be met by his ceding to the Company the territories he had acquired from Tipū under the arrangements of 1792 and 1799.

Lord Mornington was deeply impressed with the mischiefs arising out of all forms of 'double government': and for that reason it was explicitly stated in the treaty with the Mysore State that the Company retained the right to interpose in the event of gross internal mismanagement. Umdat-ul-Umrā succeeded to the Nawābship of the Carnātic on the death of his father, Muhammad Alī, in 1795. During the wars with Tipū the entire administration of the Carnātic had been taken over temporarily by the Company, and both Cornwallis and Shore made attempts to put an end to the 'dual system.' Evidence was discovered that the Nawāb had been carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Tipū before the final campaign, and the Governor-General determined to use the occasion to abolish this pageant of power in the south. Umdat-ul-Umrā died in 1801. His son, Alī Husain, was offered the title and a handsome allowance, on condition that he resigned for ever all claim to the revenues or administration of the Carnātic. When he refused, he was set aside, and the offer was made to and accepted by a nephew, Azīm-ud-daula. For similar reasons, when a quarrel broke out between two rivals for the throne of Tanjore, this petty kingship was abolished. Both claimants were pensioned off, and the Company stood forth in its own name as the sovereign of the south.

On his return to Bengal from the Madras Presidency, the Governor-General attempted to effect a like reform in Oudh.* In this quarter there was an urgent political reason for making a fresh agreement with the Nawāb Wazīr. The Marquis Wellesley was fearful of an invasion by the Afghāns under their Amīr, Zamān Shāh, from the north-

**The New Treaty
with Oudh:
1801**

* Half of the troubles of the English arose from their confused political ideas. They clung to the fiction that the Delhi Emperor was still the Suzerain of India, deriving their own title to rule from him: and hitherto they had hesitated to openly assume the paramount power which was theirs in virtue of a military and moral supremacy. Moreover, with a strange inconsistency, the English allowed to the provincial rulers an hereditary right to govern, which had never belonged to them under the Mughal Empire. Neither the Nawāb of Oudh nor the Nawāb of the Carnātic had any legal title to be regarded as independent princes. Muhammad Alī, in particular, was merely the son of a subordinate Governor. A Mughal Emperor, with the power

west. It was vain to look for protection from this peril to the troops kept by the Nawāb. They were an undisciplined and ill-paid horde. The only safeguard was to increase the contingent under British officers. Moreover, the internal administration was as bad as it could be. The country swarmed with bands of the retainers of insubordinate petty chiefs. The revenues were largely assigned to the usurers, who supplied the Nawāb with the ready money for his pleasures, and they were collected from the wretched peasantry by force of arms. After prolonged negotiations the Governor-General presented his final demands, which were—that the Nawāb Wazīr should cede a half of his territories, from the revenues of which the expenses of the military contingent were to be met; he was to disband his soldiery, and to reform the internal administration of the territory left to him. The advantages of this arrangement to the Company were that henceforward it was the warden of the frontier, the districts of the Doab and Rohilkhand coming under its control, and that it was not dependent upon the Nawāb for its subsidy: the advantage to the Nawāb was that he was relieved of a heavy military charge and was left free to better his government in the territory remaining to him, had he been so minded.

Meanwhile in the Marāthā country things were going from bad to worse. Nānā Farnavis had regained his liberty, and Daulat Rao Sindhe and the Peshwā were apparently on good terms; but in 1800 Nānā Farnavis died and with him, says the Marāthā historian, all moderation and statesmanship perished in Mahārāshṭrā. Jaswant Rao Holkar, the son of a concubine, had emerged successful in the struggle for the throne of Indore. A war broke out between him and Sindhe, in which Holkar was at first defeated and his capital was plundered; but Sindhe allowed him to recover his strength, and in 1802 he was himself overthrown in the battle of Poona. The Peshwā, who had sided with Sindhe and had another reason

**Treaty of
Bassein :
1802**

to do so, would never have hesitated to depose or transfer such rulers, had he been dissatisfied with their government. But the Company, having invested them with the attributes of kings, was at a loss how to deal with them. Only when misrule became intolerable, did it cancel the sovereignty which it had really conferred.

to fear Jaswant Holkar, since he had put one of his brothers to death in the most barbarous fashion, fled for refuge to British territory. There he signed the epoch-making **TREATY OF BASSEIN** (December 31st, 1802), which brought the head of the Marāthā Confederacy within the subsidiary system. Bāji Rao agreed, on condition of being reinstated by the Company, to receive a British contingent at Poona, to assign a revenue of 26 lakhs for its support, to submit to the decision of the Company all matters in dispute between him and the Nizām, to carry on no negotiations with other States, and to employ no foreigners



BAZAAR IN A MARATHA CAMP

without the consent of the British. General Arthur Wellesley* conducted him back to Poona and set him on his throne again, Holkar retiring as the British drew near.

Meanwhile Sindhe and Raghojī Bhonsle (II), the Rāja of Nāgpur, had collected their forces and were considering

* Brother of the Governor-General and afterwards Duke of Wellington. He was appointed the first Commandant of the fortress of Seringapatam, and early displayed the strength and nobility of his character. He acquired the greatest influence and reputation among the Marāthā chieftains as a man of resolution and inflexible truth and justice—"one that sought but Duty's iron crown." Another brother of the Governor-General, Henry Wellesley, conducted the negotiations with the Nawāb Wazīr and was made Commissioner at Bareilly.

what course they should follow. They both perceived that the Peshwā was now beyond their influence; and they feared that they too would be drawn presently under the domination of that system which was over-spreading India by gradual and inevitable stages. The Governor-General had made arrangements for the campaign on a comprehensive

**The Second
Maratha War:
1803-5**



plan and with his wonted thoroughness. Fifty thousand troops were collected at various points. The principal divisions were under General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, acting from the side of the Deccan, and General Lake, from the side of Hindustān. As soon as war was declared, the strokes fell heavy and swift upon the Marāthā confederates. Wellesley reduced Ahmadnagar and, having come up with the united forces of

Sindhe and Raghoji Bhonsle at Assai, he did not wait to be joined by Stevenson's division, but at once "clashed with his fiery few and won." The army of the allies must have numbered about 50,000, and it was strongly posted: Wellesley had under him no more than 4,500 men. As the British troops advanced, they were mown down by a murderous artillery fire; but they went on undaunted, until they reached

and stormed the batteries. Nearly a third of their number were killed or wounded ; but the enemy also lost heavily, and they left behind all their guns and camp equipment. The further victory of Argaum and the capture of Gāwalgarh completed Wellesley's principal operations. In the north Lake took Aligarh by storm, and defeated the French-trained battalions beneath the walls of Delhi. The capture of Āgra with its large arsenal followed, and the battle of Laswāri completed the destruction of Sindhe's regular army. Broach, Orissa, and Bundelkhand were annexed by other detachments.

Seeing that the British arms had been everywhere successful, Sindhe and Bhonsle were glad to send their wakils to treat for terms of peace. In December, 1803, the Treaty of Devagaum was concluded with the Rāja of Nāgpur. He agreed to cede Orissa to the Company along with other territory, to renounce all claims for tribute on the Nizām, to entertain no Europeans or Americans without the consent of the English, and to receive a British Resident at his Court. On the last day of the same year Sindhe also made his peace. The Treaty of Śiraji Anjanagaum provided that he should yield to the British all the region between the Ganges and the Jumna, also Ahmadnagar and Broach, and that he should renounce every claim upon the Emperor and all allies of the British. He also gave the same assurances as Raghoji Bhonsle about the employment of foreigners ; and he was permitted to retain some of his jāgirs in the Doab and elsewhere in the north. Sindhe was afterwards brought more completely within the 'general defensive alliance' by a supplementary article, in which he agreed to receive a British contingent on the frontiers of or within his territories.

Out of the districts thus ceded to the Company the Nizām was rewarded by an extension of his dominions on the north, and Ahmadnagar was restored to the Peshwā. The Company further entered into treaties with the Rājput States, so long harassed by the Marāthās, and undertook to defend them against all enemies.

Jaswant Rao Holkar had held aloof from the struggle, watching its issue ; but it was now necessary that he and the English should come to an understanding. The terms

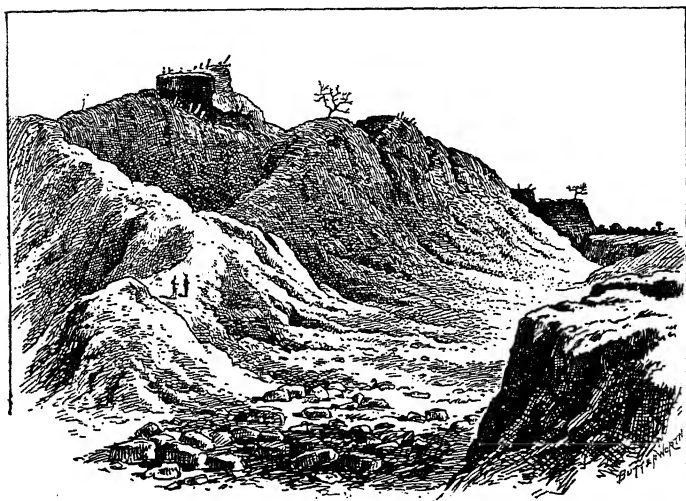
he proposed were not acceptable to the Governor-General. When the war broke out, General Wellesley with the divisions of the southern army was unable to advance from the Deccan owing to a famine, but Colonel Monson moved from Hindustān into Mālhwā. He captured Tank Rāmpur, and when the rains began, found himself in the midst of a hostile country without supplies or support. Holkar belonged to the old type of Marāthā chief. He was a dashing horseman with a bluff good humour and a coarse wit that made him popular with his troopers. He believed, too, in the old Marāthā way of fighting—avoiding a pitched battle and cutting off convoys and stragglers. He told the English that “his country and his property were on the saddle of his horse.” When Monson commenced his retreat, he was compelled to abandon his guns which sank deep in the mud. By day and night the Marāthās swarmed about his worn and starving regiments, but the main column beat off all attacks, until the open country was reached. Then it broke and a stream of ragged and exhausted men trickled into Āgra (August, 1804).

This disaster greatly encouraged Holkar, who thought he might succeed where Sindhe had failed. But the tide of battle soon turned. The Marāthās made a dash upon Delhi, hoping to recover it before the main army under Lake could come to its relief. Ochterlony manned the large circle of the city's walls with his scanty forces and repulsed every assault with ease (November, 1804). Lake pursued the cavalry raiders without being able to bring them to an engagement; but General Frazer found Holkar's regular army of infantry battalions, with artillery, drawn up under the walls of Dīg, and completely smashed it, capturing eighty-seven guns (November 13th, 1804). A few days later Lake surprised and defeated Holkar at Farrukhābād. The strong fortress of Dīg was besieged and captured; while in the Deccan and Mālhwā all Holkar's territories and forts were occupied by divisions under Murray and Wallace. This course of victory was checked at Bharatpur, the Jāt Rāja of which had been in alliance with the Marāthās. Lake laid siege to the fortress, but its thick mud walls defied the British cannon and attempts

to storm were beaten back with heavy loss (February, 1805). After three months the siege was raised, and Bharatpur acquired a reputation throughout Hindustān of being impregnable.*

Before the war could be concluded, Wellesley had laid down his office (July, 1805). He was in bad health, and the relations between him and the Court of Directors, the "cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street," as he once called them, had been far from cordial of late. The Governor-General

Resignation of
Wellesley

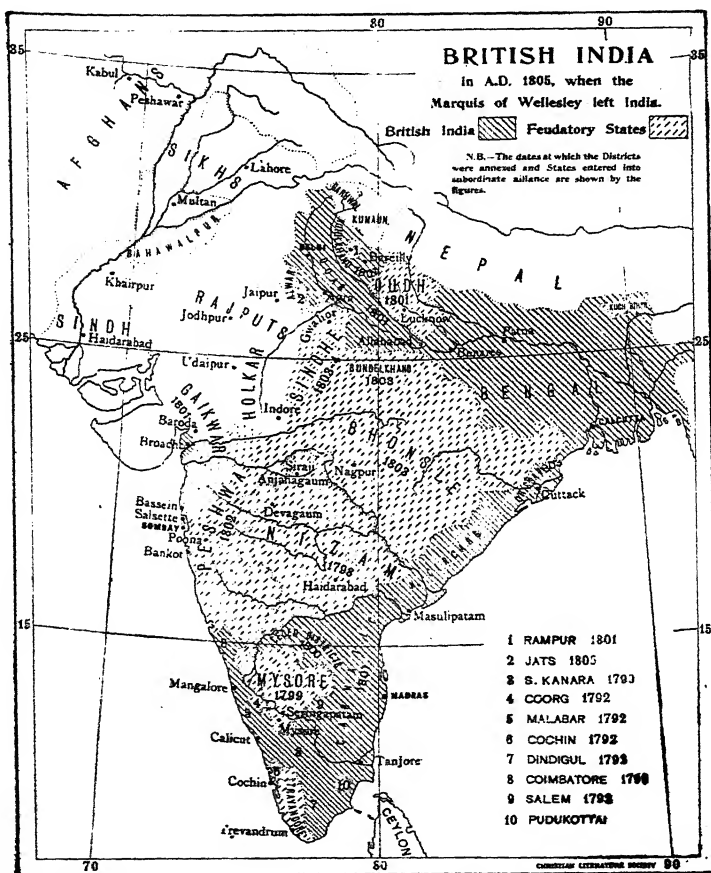


WALL AND DITCH OF BHARATPUR

was in favour of throwing open the trade with India, and abolishing the Company's monopoly. The Directors were annoyed by views so liberal as these and they were alarmed at the political projects and military expenditure

* It should be noted carefully that in this book only three Marāthā wars are spoken of—the First from 1775-82, the Second from 1803-5, and the Third from 1817-18. This arrangement differs from that in many text-books where four, or even five, Marāthā wars are mentioned. There were, however, only three great periods of struggle with the Marāthā power.

of their nominal servant: and so they looked about for a man who would stay the course of conquest



and go back to the old quiet policy of non-intervention. They appealed to Cornwallis to come to their assistance. He was already marked for death by a painful and incurable disease, but he accepted the

office with his wonted public spirit and set sail again for India.

Wellesley was not so engrossed in warfare as to have no time for other matters. He expressed his regret that many of the young servants of the Company lapsed into "sloth, indolence, low debauchery and vulgarity, and laid the foundations of their life and manners among the coarse vices and indulgences" too prevalent in the country. He recognised that a man without morality and intelligence is not fit to be entrusted with the task of governing, and he founded the College of Fort William for the training of the Company's servants. It did not long survive its founder; but it may be regarded as the beginning of a system of education for the Indian Civil Service.

Before Wellesley retired from India, he had made the English the paramount power in the country. He had put aside the fiction that the Company derived its rights and authority from any grant of the Mughal Emperor. The rival Marāthā Confederacy had been encountered and broken. All its members, save one, had been brought within the general defensive alliance, and that one was a fugitive before the squadrons of Lake in the north-west. What was written, in the first instance, of the Treaty of Bassein may be applied with truth and appropriateness to the whole work of Wellesley in India:—"Previously to it, there existed *a* British Empire in India: it gave the Company *the* Empire of India." We have reached the point of British Supremacy. After one hundred and fifty years of trading and fifty years of diplomacy and warfare, the Company is the ruler of India.*

* The key-note of Wellesley's policy is sounded in the sentence in which he summed up the results of his Treaties with the Marāthā princes:—"The general arrangements of the pacification have finally placed the British power in India in that commanding position with regard to other States, which affords the only possible security for the permanent tranquillity and prosperity of these valuable and important possessions."

THE RISE OF THE BRITISH TO THE SUPREMACY

A.D. 1757-1805

- 1756 Sirāj-ud-daula becomes Nawāb of Bengal, takes Calcutta ; Clive and Watson sail from Madras.
- 1757 Battle of Plassey ; Mir Jāfar becomes Nawāb.
- 1759 Defeat of the Dutch in Bengal, capture of Chinsura.
- 1760 Clive returns to England. 1761 Madhu Rao I becomes Peshwā ; Nizām Alī displaces Salābat Jang.
- 1761 Mir Jāfar deposed, Mir Kāsim installed as Nawāb of Bengal.
- 1763 War with Mir Kāsim.
- 1764 Battle of Baksār.
- 1765 Return of Clive ; Treaty of Allahābād, Company acquires Dīwānī of Bengal.
- 1767 Departure of Clive to England.
- 1767-69 First Mysore War. 1770-71 Marāthā campaigns against Haidar Alī.
- 1771 The Company resolves to stand forth as Dīwān. 1771 The Delhi Emperor accepts the protection of Mādhoji Sindhe.
- 1772-85 WARREN HASTINGS is Governor of Bengal and Governor-General. 1772 Death of Madhu Rao I, accession of Narāyan Rao.
- 1773 The Regulating Act passed.
- 1773 Treaty of Benares. 1773 Murder of Narāyan Rao, usurpation of Raghunāth Rao.
- 1775 Death of Shujā-ud-daula ; Supreme Council makes a new agreement with the Nawāb of Oudh. 1774 Nānā Farnavis sets up government on behalf of infant Madhu Rao II.
- 1775 Treaty of Surāt.
- 1775-82 FIRST MARATHA WAR : 1775, Battle of Aras ; 1776, Treaty of Purandhar ; 1779, Convention of Wargaum ; 1780, Capture of Ahmadabād, Bassein, Gwālior ; 1882, Treaty of Salbai.
- 1781 Chait Singh's revolt ; new settlement with Nawāb of Oudh.
- 1781 The Amending Act passed.
- 1780-84 The Second Mysore War: 1780, defeat of Baillie ; 1781, Battle of Porto Novo ; 1782, defeat of Braithwaite, French land at Cuddalore, death of Haidar.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE RISE OF THE BRITISH (Contd.)

- 1783, siege of Cuddalore, surrender of Matthews; 1784, Treaty of Mangalore.
- 1784 Pitt's India Bill passed.
- 1788-95 Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
- 1786-93 EARL (MARQUIS) CORNWALLIS is Governor-General.
- 1790-92 Third Mysore War : 1791, capture of Bangalore ; 1792, Treaty of Seringapatam.
- 1792 Sindhe invests Peshwā with title of " Pādshā's Deputy."
- 1793 Permanent Settlement of Bengal.
- 1793-98 SIR JOHN SHORE (LORD TEIGNMOUTH) is Governor-General.
- 1794 Death of Mādhōjī Sindhe, Daulat Rao Sindhe succeeds.
- 1795 Cape of Good Hope taken from the Dutch.
- 1795 Nizām Alī surrenders at Khardā.
- 1796 Bājī Rao II becomes Peshwā.
- 1797 Death of Āsaf-ud-daula.
- 1797 Death of Tukājī Holkār.
- 1798-1805 EARL OF MORNINGTON (MARQUIS WELLESLEY) is Governor-General.
- 1799 Fourth Mysore War, fall of Seringapatam.
- 1800 New Treaty with Nizām Alī.
- 1800 Death of Nānā Farnavīs.
- 1801 Death of Umdat-ul-Umrā ; double government in the Carnātic and Tanjore abolished ; new treaty with the Nawāb of Oudh.
- 1802 *Treaty of Bassein.*
- 1803-5 SECOND MARATHA WAR: 1803, Sindhe and Bhonsle defeated at Assai and Argaum ; capture of Delhi and Agra, and battle of Laswāri ; treaties of Devagaum and Sirajī Anjanagaum—1804-5, War with Holkar ; 1804, Monson's retreat, defence of Delhi, battles of Dīg and Farrukhābād ; 1805, failure before Bharatpur.

* Note carefully that in this book the Wars with the Marāthās are grouped as follows :—First War 1775-82, Second War 1803-5, Third War 1817-18.

CHAPTER XVI

The Company as the Paramount Power

A.D. 1805-1858

Wellesley left the Company the Paramount Power in India. So far as military supremacy was concerned, later rulers had merely to finish what he had well begun. Though the flood of conquest and annexation was checked, and even receded, for a year or two after his departure, it ultimately went forward in two great surges under the Marquis of Hastings and the Earl of Dalhousie. The former completed the subjugation of the Marāthā States, and the latter brought the Sikh kingdom of Lahore within the British Empire. Thus, for the first time in history, at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, the whole of India, from Cape Comorin to the Himālayas and from the Panjāb to Assam, was brought under one firm sovereign sway.



SEAL OF THE EAST-INDIA
COMPANY

The military process was complete, but to the labour of improving an administration there can be no end. We may watch it going on steadily throughout this period, associated particularly with the names of Bentinck and Dalhousie. By the Charters of 1813 and 1833 the Company was finally emancipated from the principles and interests

of a trading corporation: it was left with nothing to do but to govern. It not only assumed all the duties which former rulers of India had discharged, but it added to them the new and larger responsibilities of a modern civilised Government. It began to develop the material resources of the country by a system of public works,

and it sought to raise the intelligence and improve the morals of its subjects by education, both elementary and advanced.

The government of the Marquis Wellesley provoked a strong reaction in England. The Court of Directors were greatly alarmed at the increase of the public debt, and there seemed to be no limit to their military expenses. The people of Great Britain, fighting the battle of Europe's freedom against Napoleon, were out of sympathy with all conquest and annexation: the imperial ambition of Wellesley seemed to them to resemble too closely that of the little Corsican. Lord Cornwallis was chosen to reverse the policy of his predecessor, and to hark back to what was supposed to be the safer and less costly plan of non-intervention. He was charged to see that the Company minded strictly its own business and did not meddle in the affairs of States outside its ring-fence. Cornwallis lived only ten weeks after landing at Calcutta. He had time to announce his intention of cutting down expenses and withdrawing from some of the engagements entered into by Wellesley, and then died at Ghāzipur on his way up the Ganges towards the centre of the disturbance.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW: A.D. 1805-1807.—His place was taken by Sir George Barlow, a servant of the Company and Senior Member of Council under Wellesley, who proceeded to give effect at once to the stringent instructions received from the Court of Directors. Lord Lake had brought Holkar to bay in the Panjāb; and that Marāthā chieftain, without the prospect of any success or benefit from further resistance, had consented to sign a treaty which would have restored to him all his territories with the exception of Tank Rāmpur and the districts north of the Chambal. But the Governor-General disallowed even this exception; and in his settlement with Holkar and a revised treaty with Sindhe he surrendered some of the friends and allies of the Company to their enemies. By his instructions the Rāja of Jaipur was informed that the agreement, concluded with him by Wellesley, was cancelled. Sir George Barlow wished to make the Jumna

and Bundelkhand the farthest boundaries of the Company, which should take neither notice of nor part in the quarrels beyond those limits. The internecine warfare of the contiguous princes would be the best defence of the frontier. Thus the kingdoms of Rājputāna were left to be ravaged and oppressed by Holkar, Sindhe, and Holkar's new confederate—the Rohilla, Amīr Khān. Lord Lake protested in vain against what he regarded as a breach of good faith and a sacrifice of deserving friends, and he resigned his political powers in disgust rather than carry out the orders of the Government.

The only other noteworthy event in Sir George Barlow's brief tenure of office was the Mutiny at Vellore.

**The Vellore
Mutiny:
1806**

New regulations had been issued to the sepoy forbidding them to wear caste marks on parade, introducing a strange style of tying the turban which seemed to them nothing but an imitation of the European hat, and requiring them to trim their moustaches in a novel mode. The object of the regulations was merely to give to the sepoy regiments a smarter appearance according to the military fashions of the day; but the Hindu rank and file saw in these changes an insidious attempt to tamper with their caste and religion. The Government was suspected of a design to turn them all into Christians. The rising was easily suppressed by Colonel Gillespie at the head of his galloping guns. The Mysore princes, the sons of Tipū, who had been living at Vellore since the fall of Seringapatam, were found to have had a share in the conspiracy, and they were removed to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, afterwards Governor-General, was at the head of the Madras Council at this time, and he was censured and recalled from his office by the Court of Directors, greatly to his indignation.

LORD MINTO: A.D. 1807-1813.—Sir George Barlow's appointment was only provisional, and he was superseded in 1807 by Lord Minto, being given the governorship of Madras by way of consolation. The new Governor-General, then known as Sir Gilbert Elliot, had been one of the Managers for the House of Commons in the impeach-

ment of Warren Hastings. He thus had special knowledge of India and was regarded as an able and well-informed statesman. He came out pledged to the doctrine of non-intervention; but he had not been long in the country before he learnt that there were more and stronger reasons to justify a forward policy than he had previously allowed. He found that he also must resort to the judgement of the sword, unless he were willing to look on, while adjacent countries were laid waste and their inhabitants were reduced to abject misery.

The province of Bundelkhand, by the recent arrangements, belonged nominally to the Company; but it was really in the hands of turbulent chieftains, who collected their taxes by force of arms, and from their hill fortresses set the British at defiance. Minto set a campaign on foot against them. The principal strongholds of Kālinjar and Ajaigarh were captured, order was restored in the country, and a beginning was made with a revenue settlement (1808-12).

**Affairs in
Bundelkhand
and Central
India**

The Governor-General departed still farther from the line of peaceful neutrality, when Amīr Khān invaded and pillaged the territories of the Rāja of Nāgpur (Raghojī Bhonsle II). Though under no treaty obligation to do so, Minto sent an army to his assistance and drove out the invader. He saw clearly enough that, if the Rohilla were not checked at once, his next incursion would be into the territories of the Company or of its ally, the Nizām.

The Sikh Confederacy, which under the sovereignty of Ranjīt Singh had grown into a compact and powerful kingdom, now began to give anxiety to the Company. Some of its forces had crossed the Sutlej and made war on the chiefs of Sirhind. Lord Minto felt that it would never do to have Ranjīt Singh as his next-door neighbour, and that the small cis-Sutlej principalities must be kept as buffer States between the Company's domain and the Panjāb. He resolved, therefore, to take the chiefs under his protection, even if it meant war. Happily Ranjīt Singh had seen enough of the Company to respect its resources and its power, and Metcalfe was able to negotiate a treaty with

**Treaty with
Ranjit Singh**

him, establishing perpetual amity between the British Government and the Kingdom of Lahore (1809). It was observed faithfully by both parties, until the death of Ranjīt Singh released the Sikh brigades from an iron constraint, and they poured across the Sutlej to challenge the British supremacy.

The miseries attending the policy of non-intervention were felt most keenly in Rājputāna, and are illustrated

**The Tragedy
of Krishna
Kumari**

in the story of Kṛishṇā Kumārī, the beautiful daughter of the Rāṇa of Udaipur. The hand of this princess had been promised in marriage to the Rahtor chief of Jodhpur; but on his death it was sought by the Mahārāja of Jaipur. Mān Singh, however, who had succeeded at Jodhpur, claimed the maiden for himself, on the ground that she had been betrothed to the throne rather than to the person of a prince. War broke out between the rivals, and Sindhe and Amīr Khān used the opportunity, by first taking one side and then the other, to reduce the Rājput princes to the extremity of weakness and poverty. At last the Rohilla made the infamous suggestion that peace should be restored by destroying the princess, who was the innocent cause of the strife. Her wretched father gave his consent to this cowardly course, and Kṛishṇā Kumārī with the dutiful submission and high courage of her sex and race, drank the fatal draught and expired (1810).

Rivalry with the French committed Lord Minto to other military measures. It was rumoured that Napoleon

**Expeditions
against
the French**

entertained the mad idea of invading India by way of Persia, Baluchistān and Sindh. Not content with his alliance with Ranjīt Singh, the Governor-General sent Malcolm and Elphinstone on embassies to the Shāh of Persia and the Amīr of Afghānistān to make arrangements for a defensive alliance against the Emperor of the French. The Amīrs of Sindh also entered into a covenant of perpetual friendship with the Company's Government (1809). An expedition was fitted out to capture the islands owned by the French in the Indian ocean. These had long served their frigates and privateers as a naval base, from which they made their destructive raids upon the

Company's merchantmen. The Isle de Bourbon and the Isle de France (Mauritius) were both taken, and the latter passed permanently into the possession of the British. Holland having been subjugated and become a part of the French Empire, another armament, which was accompanied by the Governor-General himself, was directed against the Dutch settlements in the Spice Archipelago. They were captured, one by one, and Java, the principal island, was occupied in 1811. It remained for five years under the administration of English officials, but was then restored to the Dutch according to the terms of the peace of 1814. The English found some compensation, a few years later, by taking possession of Singapore (1819). The Governor-General was rewarded with an earldom.

Sir George Barlow passed a troublous time in Madras, where he was neither understood nor liked. There was

Madras Troubles

a war with a recalcitrant Dīwān of Travancore, which ended in the Rāja's consenting to disband his Carnātic Brigade and to leave the defence of his territories to the Company's contingent. A stranger and more grievous affair was a mutiny of the British officers. Orders were passed abolishing the 'tent contract' system in the army,* and the officers, considering that some reflections had been cast upon their honour, broke out into open resistance to the Madras Governor and his Council. For a short time the mutineers held the fort at Seringapatam; but an appeal to their better feelings prevailed, and they submitted to the Governor-General's measures for enquiry and punishment (1809). The brightest feature of the southern administration was the revenue settlement, which was being patiently worked out by officers like Munro (afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, and Governor of Madras). The preference was given in the Madras Presidency to the *rāyatwārī* system, under which the cultivators hold their lands direct from Government.

The theory, which Lord Minto brought with him to India, had yielded and broken under the pressure of hard

* Officers up to this time had received an allowance, out of which they found tent or hut accommodation for their men.

facts. Almost the last act of the Governor-General was to warn the Court of Directors that they could not long postpone a conflict with the Pindāris. These marauders were daily growing bolder and had actually entered and ravaged the Company's territories. No policy of non-intervention was able to cope with their system of brigandage.

Meanwhile in England the administration of the Company was subjected to a severe and searching enquiry

**The Renewal
of the
Charter :
1813**

by Parliament. It was found that the reforms of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis had not produced all the benefits which were anticipated. The old system had been swept away, and the new one was yet far from being efficient and able to take its place. Some of the English magistrates gave it as their opinion that perjury and crime of all kinds, especially dacoity, had increased in Bengal. The fault did not lie with the English officials, who were, for the more part, honest and sincerely desirous of the good of the people. But they were few in number, and judicial arrears accumulated in an appalling fashion. They could not look after their police, who were often in league with the robbers. The ryots were timid and would not come forward to give evidence against the dacoit leaders. There was no strong middle class, as in England, able and willing to assist the officers of the State and to do much of its work without pay. The criminal classes could not be kept in awe by ferocious punishments as of old. The Company needed to build up a new judicial and police service, just as it had built up its trade and military departments; time was required to train judges and policemen and to draft a code of law. The Government had to undo the grand mistake of Cornwallis in taking away all responsibility from Indians. It could not suffer them to govern in the old way, and it had hardly begun to enlist them in its civil service and to educate them in new methods of administration according to higher ideals.

The Charter of the Company was due to expire in 1813, and, as the time grew near for its renewal, a great controversy was waged around it. There were two parties in Great Britain who were bent upon altering its terms.

On the one hand, the merchants and manufacturers fought for the removal of all restrictions on trade with India. The industries of England, especially the textile, had increased enormously during the past twenty years; and the Company was not considered to be competent any longer to control the vast volume of trade, which might and ought to roll between India and Europe. On the other hand, the party led by Wilberforce believed that England had a high duty to discharge towards India. They wished to see the Company making greater and more generous efforts to elevate the religion and morals of its subjects and to promote the spread of true knowledge among them. The Directors fought hard to retain their privileges, but the mind of the nation and of the Parliament was against them. The new Charter abolished the Company's monopoly in India, while continuing that of the trade with China; and by this decision and the famous Thirteenth Resolution,* around which the battle raged fiercest, Parliament opened the shores of India to the missionary, the school-master, the private merchant, the manufacturer and the planter. Though the Company did not cease at once to be a trading corporation, yet its commercial transactions in India soon sank into insignificance, and it was set free for the great task of government. For good or ill, India was brought within the comity of nations.

THE EARL OF MOIRA (MARQUIS OF HASTINGS): A.D. 1813-1823.—

The Earl of Moira, who succeeded to Lord Minto, had won distinction as a soldier in the American War of Independence and also in Flanders in campaigns against

* We quote here the exact words of this epoch-making Resolution :—"Resolved, That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs; provided always, that the authority of the local Government, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved; and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained."

the French. His unfailing courtesy towards those who were about him, his sympathy with all progress, his energy and high-mindedness, pointed him out as worthy of the high office now conferred upon him. Although he was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he landed in India, there is no trace of slackness in the ten years of his administration. Like his predecessor, he came out with the



MARQUIS OF HASTINGS

intention of avoiding war and acquisition of territory, and also like him, he found it impossible to stand upon the defensive. His Governor-Generalship will always be remembered by the three great campaigns he conducted. The Marquis of Hastings, as he became after the war with Nepāl, is the man who completed the work of the Marquis Wellesley.*

Thus, under this Governor-General, the advance which had been checked and delayed for a decade,

was resumed; the tide of conquest turned, and its waters

* Referring to the phrase in the India Bill of 1784 "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation," Lord William Bentinck wrote:—"The impossibility of adhering to this beautiful theory was soon manifested, and subsequent events have all shown that, however moderate our views, however determined we may be not to extend our limits, it has been utterly out of our power to stand still. Such have been the restless, plundering habits of this great Indian society, such its very natural jealousy and apprehension of our power, that, after a series of unprovoked aggressions, Lord Hastings at last in 1817 brought to a completion that system of policy which the great genius and foresight of Lord Wellesley had originally planned."

did not cease to flow, until they had covered the whole of India. The attention of the Calcutta Govern-

**The War with
Nepal: 1814-16**

ment had been directed for some time to the encroachments of the Nepāl State upon the Tarai, or low country lying at the foot of the Himālayan ranges. Some of the Nepālese Sirdārs seem to have formed the resolution of gradually annexing this territory, until the whole of it up to the Ganges should belong to them. Village after village in the Company's dominions was occupied, and a British police post, which was intended to check further encroachment, was attacked and destroyed. All negotiations having failed, Lord Moira declared war. The British army was to penetrate into the hill kingdom at four distinct points in four divisions. It was a difficult and dangerous undertaking; for the Gurkhas were a brave fighting race, and they had their mountains and forests to assist them. The Rāja asked how the English should be able to carry these stupendous works of God, when they had failed before the man-built walls of Bharatpur. His confidence in the natural strength of his country was not ill placed. The operations of three of the British divisions ended in failure, and the troops fell back into the jungles below the hills. Only in the west did General Ochterlony succeed in overcoming all obstacles. He shut up Amar Singh, the bravest and most skilful of the Nepālese commanders, in the fort of Malaun and compelled him to surrender, allowing him to march forth with the honours of war. The Gurkhas, discouraged and alarmed for the safety of their capital, commenced to treat for peace, and the terms had already been drawn up, when Amar Singh arrived in their council and persuaded the Sirdārs to make another stand.

General Ochterlony, who now had a large and united force, was ordered to continue his advance. He defeated the army which sought to bar his path at Makwanpur, and was about to march upon Khātmāndū, when the Rāja concluded peace in haste. The principal terms of the Treaty of Sagaulī were—that the Rāja should renounce all claims over the region west of the Kālī river—a district of some value and importance now, for it contains the hill-stations of Simla, Nainī Tāl, and Mussoorie; the

Nepālese were to evacuate the Tarai and Sikkim (they were allowed ultimately to occupy some of the districts below the hills); and the Rāja was to receive a British Resident at his Court.

Another struggle now opened out before the Governor-General. The outrages of the Pindāris had grown

**The Extirpa-
tion of the
Pindaris :
1817**

intolerable. These men were the refuse and fragments of the Mughal and Marāthā armies, or outlaws who had forsaken an honest and peaceful occupation for a life of plundering. They gathered round leaders, who showed a taste for and skill in predatory warfare, and had their strongholds in Mālhwā. Every season, as soon as the rains were over, they rode out on their forays, and their track was marked by burning ricks and houses and violated homes. Women threw themselves down wells to avoid dishonour, and the whole population of one village is reported to have perished in the flames rather than trust itself to the tender mercies of these cowardly freebooters. In 1816 a large force of Pindāris swept right across India to the East Coast and laid waste the neighbourhood of Masūlipatam.

The Marquis of Hastings was aware that it would not be easy to suppress these pests; for the Pindārī chiefs, of whom Karim Khān, Wasil Muhammad, and Chītū had the largest following, were sheltered and employed by the Marāthā princes. Indeed the Pindārī system may be regarded as the last and worst stage of the Marāthā method of levying chauth. The Governor-General had therefore to reckon with the possibility of war with the Marāthā States; and in any case he could not count on their hearty co-operation. He was resolved, however, to make an end of the evil of brigandage once and for all. He would not simply subdue or check the Pindāris, but extirpate them. The most extensive military preparations ever made by the Company were commenced. An army of one hundred and twenty thousand men was put in the field. Hastings' plan was to completely surround the Mālhwā country, blocking up every outlet, and to crush the Pindāris between converging columns. The Governor-General himself took the command of the

Northern Army, operating in four divisions from Hindustān, while Sir Thomas Hislop directed the movements of the Southern Army, acting from the side of the Deccan.

Rājputāna had been plunged for some years in a state of utter misery and anarchy; and Hastings resolved to undo the mistakes of the policy of non-intervention. The Rājput princes were invited once again to enter into relations with the Company, and were assured of its protection. The Rājas of Jaipur, Udaipur, and Jodhpur, and other lesser chiefs responded gladly to the British overtures and treaties were drawn up, bringing them within the general defensive alliance. As had been foreseen, Sindhe evaded the demand that he should co-operate against the Pindārīs. He was known to be carrying on a correspondence with Nepāl and with the other Marāthā powers, with a view to forming a confederacy against the British; but, when Hastings set his columns in motion, Sindhe saw his danger and he saved himself by complying. He consented to place his army at the disposal of the British Commander-in-Chief and surrendered two of his principal fortresses as a guarantee of good behaviour. (Treaty of Gwālīor: November, 1817). The story of the campaign against the Pindārīs may be told rapidly in a few words. Hemmed in on all sides and pursued, whichever way they turned, the robber bands were completely broken up and dispersed. Karīm Khān surrendered, and was settled upon an estate; Wasil Muhammad put an end to his life; and Chītū, who fled hither and thither to escape capture, is said to have been devoured at last by a tiger in the jungle. A treaty was drawn up with Amīr Khān, the Rohilla chief, by which he was recognised as the Nawāb of Tonk and took his place among the regular feudatory princes. Thus the arrangements of Hastings were crowned with complete success. The whole of India was delivered from the Pindārī scourge, and the foundations of peace and prosperity were laid in Rājputāna. It was not a war of aggression, but of moral necessity undertaken for humanity's sake. The spirit, in which the Governor-General commenced it and contemplated its

**Renewed
Alliances with
the Rajputs**

result, is exhibited in the words of his private diary:—
 “I trust that my soul is adequately grateful to the Almighty for allowing me to be the humble instrument of a change beneficial to so many of my fellow-creatures.”

But while these movements against the Pindāris were on foot, secret negotiations were being carried on among the Marāthā princes, which led to the final struggle with the power of the Confederacy. **The Third War with the Marathas : 1817-18** The Peshwā, Bājī Rao, had sufficient spirit to be discontented with the subordinate position in which he was now placed ; but he was enfeebled by sensual indulgence and utterly lacking in the firmness of mind and courage, which alone could have fitted him to lead. As during all his past, so now he resorted to guileful craft. When he saw the English engaged in their struggle with Nepāl and harassed by the Pindāris, he thought that the time had come for an effort to throw off the yoke.

There was a long-standing dispute between the Gaikwār and the Peshwā about the payment of tribute, and Gangādhār Śāstri was sent from Baroda, under guarantee of protection from the British, to negotiate a settlement at Poona. He was murdered, as he returned in the dusk from the temple at Paṇḍharpur. It was matter of common knowledge that Trimbak Dāngle, the Peshwā's vicious minister, had instigated the crime, and the British Government demanded his surrender. The Peshwā gave up his favourite with reluctance, and Trimbak Dāngle was imprisoned at Thāṇa. Here his escape was cleverly contrived. An officer's groom sang snatches of Marāthā song beneath the ramparts, and told the prisoner how he might pass out of the fort and where the horses would be waiting for him. The Peshwā continued to have dealings in secret with his late minister, sending him money and encouraging him to raise a revolt. He also mobilised his own troops and carried on a correspondence with the other Marāthā princes.

The Resident at Poona was alive to the danger, and the Governor-General determined to take stern and strong measures with Bājī Rao. He saw that there could not be two masters in India ; and that there never would be peace

so long as the Peshwā either had or claimed to have any kind of suzerainty. The Resident was instructed to present a new treaty to Bājī Rao for his immediate acceptance. It required the Peshwā to relinquish his title to the headship of the Marāthā Confederacy and all claims upon other States. He was also to cede Ahmadnagar and other territories and to receive a larger British contingent; and he was to pledge himself to have nothing more to do with Trimbakji. On these terms the Company would guarantee him the sovereignty within his own dominions. (Treaty of Poona: June, 1817). It was a severe penalty and its only justification was political necessity. Bājī Rao submitted openly, and went on with his secret preparations for war. On November 5th, 1817, the first blow was struck. The Peshwā's army of 18,000 horse and 8,000 foot fell upon the British garrison of Kirkī, but it was repulsed with ease and routed. Henceforward Bājī Rao was a fugitive before the British divisions. His brave general, Bāpū Gokhale, tried to stave off the pursuit, but, after his death in the engagement of Ashti, there was none to deliver Bājī Rao from his folly and cowardice. In May, 1818, he was hemmed in and gave himself up to Malcolm. Hastings deposed him, and he was allowed to settle at Bithūr, near Cawnpore, drawing an annual allowance of eight lakhs from the Company.

Three weeks after the affair at Poona a similar outbreak occurred at Nāgpur. It should be stated first that

**The Fight of
Sitābaldī:
1817**

Raghoji Bhonsle II died in 1816. His nephew, Mudoji—generally known as Appā Sāhib—was appointed as regent to a weakly son; but the boy died a natural death, or was murdered in his sleep, and the Regent was recognised as Rāja in his stead. Appā Sāhib had entered into a new agreement with the Company, by which they were permitted to station a small contingent near the capital. The Resident, Mr. Jenkins, foreseeing an attack, had caused the troops to be placed in position on the Sitābaldī hill. Here a force of thirteen hundred sepoy repulsed for eighteen hours the determined assaults of the Rāja's army. Appā Sāhib pretended to have been in no way

connected with this hostile act, and he was permitted to resume his sway. When, however, it was found that he was again stirring up strife, he was arrested; but he escaped from custody and died, many years later, a refugee at the Court of Jodhpur.

Let us now see what has been happening in the State of Indore. Jaswant Rao Holkar became insane soon after returning to his kingdom from the Panjāb;

**The War with
Holkar's State:
1817** and his favourite concubine, Tulasī Bai, carried on the administration for him. When Holkar died in 1811, his widow continued to

act as Regent on behalf of his son, Malhār Rao, who was still a minor. Tulasī Bai was an able, though a profligate, woman. There was a strong party opposed to her in the State; and, the pay of the army being in arrears, the officers and the soldiers were quite out of hand. Tulasī Bai professed to wish to live on friendly terms with the English, but many of the chiefs of the army were eager to try whether war might not mend their fortunes. When the British division under Sir John Malcolm drew near, the Regent entered again into negotiations for peace, but her captains seized her and, taking her down to the bank of the Sipri river, struck off her beautiful head and cast her body into the waters. The clash with the British came at Mahidpur in December, 1817. The Marāthās were entrenched on the further side of the stream; but the passage was forced in face of a heavy artillery fire, and the Indore troops were put to flight with the loss of all their guns and baggage. The war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Mandesar. The territories of Holkar were considerably reduced, some districts being assigned by the British to friendly princes and others taken by themselves. The administration was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency, acting under the advice of the British Resident.

It is possible now to look at the marvellous changes that were made in the political map of India by this warfare of twelve months. The Peshwā, who

**Territorial
Re-distribution** alone might claim to exercise a kind of suzerainty, had disappeared completely. The Rāja of Śātārā was restored to some of his dignity and

power, being assigned a small and convenient principality out of the territories of the late Peshwā. Changes were made in the extent and shape of the kingdoms of all the princes in Central India. The Governor-General followed two principles in making this re-distribution. In the first place, the three Presidencies of British India were linked up with one another, intervening barriers of foreign territory being removed. In the second place, a plan of division was adopted, exactly the opposite of the Marāthā. The aim of Hastings was a permanent peace, and he tried to do away with that mixing up of territories, which was the device of Bālāji Viśvanāth Rao. Wherever possible, each prince was provided with a well-defined dominion, within which he enjoyed an undivided and indisputable sovereignty. The subsidiary system, with its military contingents and political residents, was now everywhere established, save in the north-west. The protection of the feudatory princes from foreign invasion and domestic sedition was the recognised duty of the Suzerain Power.

After this period of warfare and conquest was over, some important administrative reforms were effected.

Administrative Reforms The Court of Directors had learnt a lesson from the imperfections of the judicial and revenue systems of Bengal. In settling the new territories, they gave the general instruction, that, so far as possible, the old officers and instruments of government should be employed—the village patels and watchmen and the *pañchāyat* courts. The number of subordinate Indian magistrates was increased, and the English Collectors were invested with the powers of criminal magistrates. In making revenue settlements, before a final decision was reached, information about the nature of the land tenures was carefully collected. A periodical was preferred to a permanent settlement, and the *rāyatwārī* system was more generally adopted than the *zamīndārī*.

Hastings interested himself in education at a time when, in the English society of Calcutta, there was much indifference or opposition to educational projects. His wife was an active supporter of schools for girls in Calcutta. The Baptist missionaries of Serampore had for some years been printing books in many languages and carrying on

Press Censor, and placed editors of newspapers under a set of Regulations, which forbade them to criticise offensively either the measures of Government or the character and conduct of officials. They were liable to be deported, if they incurred the displeasure of Government. Hastings retired from India with the reputation of being a vigorous soldier, a wise statesman, and a gentleman of unblemished honour and liberal sympathies.

LORD AMHERST: A.D. 1823-1828.—Lord Amherst was chosen to succeed the Marquis of Hastings. The principal event of his term of office was the war with Burma. The reigning Burmese dynasty had been founded by one Alaungpayā, or Alompra, about 1750. Its original territory was Upper Burma with the capital at Ava. But in course of time Pegu was annexed, and a movement along the shores of the Bay of Bengal was commenced. Arakan was conquered, and the borders of Assam were invaded.

The Burmese king and his ministers were as vain as they were ignorant. They knew nothing of the world outside their little kingdom and imagined the
**Burmese War :
1824-26** prowess of their warriors to be irresistible.

In 1823 an attack upon and occupation of an Indian frontier post led to a declaration of war. The Burmese General, Mahā Bandūla, had orders to drive the English out of Bengal and bring their Governor bound in chains to Ava. On the part of the Company the war was badly managed. Three expeditions were despatched—one up the Brahmaputra into Assam, a second by land to Arakan, and a third by sea to Rangoon. The resistance offered by the Burmese soldiers behind their wooden stockades was feeble indeed and easily overcome; but the fever, bred by swamp and jungle, and famine wrought fearful havoc among the British troops. The forces, sent to Rangoon in 1824, found the city deserted, and they lay idle for some months during the rains without proper housing or a sufficient supply of provisions. At length a forward movement was commenced. The Burmese General was slain by a random shot, as he stood behind a river stockade, and his army fled. A small detachment reached Yandabo, within

forty miles of Ava, where a treaty was concluded (February, 1826). The king ceded the districts of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim; he promised to pay a war indemnity of one crore, and to receive a British ambassador at his Court. The war had proved very costly, adding ten crores to the public debt and producing a deficit in the annual budget. Its chief benefit was the prosperity conferred on the ceded districts. Moulmein rose from the condition of a mere fishing village to that of a flourishing port.

The Rāja of Bharatpur died in 1825, leaving his throne to a son still in his minority; but a nephew of the late Rāja set aside his cousin and assumed the government. The Governor-General, after some delay and hesitation, decided to support the claim of the rightful heir; and, when Lord Combermere approached to enforce his decision, the usurper resolved to abide by the issue of a siege. Once again the batteries failed to make a practicable breach; but the engineers succeeded in laying a mine, charged with a prodigious quantity of powder, and blew the ramparts into the air. The assaulting column rushed into the gap, and was soon in possession of the whole fort. The lustre of this success was dimmed by the conduct of the army, which claimed and appropriated the whole of the treasure in the palace as its prize-money.

**The Capture
of Bharatpur :
1827**

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK: A.D. 1828-1835—Lord William Bentinck now came to India for the second time. During the interval since he had been Governor of Madras, he had seen much and varied service in Europe and had taken part in some of the great movements of the time. In the final struggle with Napoleon, he had been given charge of a British division in Sicily and lent his aid to a plan for creating a united and free Italy. A lover of liberty and justice all his life, he brought his ideals with him to the East, and his administration bears the stamp of his personal character.

He was at once brought face to face with a new order of problems in government. The Company was now the Paramount Power in India. What should be the relation of the Suzerain to its Feudatory? Had the Company the right to interfere with the internal adminis-

tration of a Protected State? The old doctrine of non-intervention meant that the Company should avoid relations of all kinds with the independent Indian States, and especially should not incur any obligation to intervene in their quarrels or to give protection to any one of them. But now all the States in India, save those of Sindh and Lahore, had been brought within the scope of the subsidiary system, and the Company was pledged to defend the ruling princes against either foreign invasion or domestic sedition. The advocates of the policy of non-intervention had, therefore, to give to it a new meaning. Henceforward they argued that the Company's right of interference was limited to cases of war between States under its protection, and that it must not, under any circumstances, meddle with matters of internal government. It is quite plain that, if this policy had been carried out invariably and consistently, it would have led to deplorable evils. If the Paramount Power pledged itself to defend a prince against a revolt of his subjects, was it not also bound to protect the subjects from the oppression of the prince? Rebellion was the people's sole remedy against a tyrant. Might a ruler, secure in the protection of the Company, persist in a course of maladministration without fear of the penalty, which in other times would assuredly have overtaken him from the contempt or anger of his nobles and people? These are some of the questions that Bentinck had to consider; and, if he seems to return to them answers that are hesitating or inconsistent, let us remember that the duties and rights of Suzerain and Feudatory had not yet been defined and that the relationship was new and strange. The view in favour with the Court of Directors was to abstain as much as possible from all interference, and this was also in accord with the sympathies and habit of mind of the Governor-General himself.

Bentinck had to deal with quite a number of cases. In 1831 the government of Kṛishṇa Rāja Oḍeyar, of Mysore, was brought under his notice. The Mahārāja paid no heed to the fatherly advice or warnings of Residents and Governors; and while he pursued his pleasures,

allowed the mangement of the State to fall into unworthy hands. The ryots rose in rebellion, and British troops had to be called out to restore order. In this case, the Governor-General could have no doubt as to the Company's powers; for the agreement of Seringapatam had reserved to the British the right to take over the government of the country. The Mahārāja was asked to abdicate, generous provision being made for himself and his palace establishment, and a British Commission was appointed to take charge of the administration. In the adjoining country of Coorg, the Rāja was behaving like a madman. When his cruelties and insolent threats were reported to the British Government, a small force was sent to restrain and reduce the tyrant. Virarāj was deposed and, by the request of the inhabitants, Coorg was added to the Company's territories (1834).

The Cases of Mysore and Coorg

In the States of Jaipur, Bhopal, and Gwālior internal disorders reached a dangerous height. At Jaipur the Jain Regent and a party of the Rājput nobles, in Bhopal the Begum Regent and her son-in-law, in Sindhe's dominions Daulat Rao's widow, the bold daughter of Shirze Rao Ghātge, and her ward were rivals for power. Bentinck refrained from taking action, until civil war seemed imminent; and then the influence of the British Government was used to effect a settlement. In Oudh the reigning Nawāb, or King* as we must now call him, proved as incorrigible as his predecessors. His country presented a lamentable spectacle of disorder and mismanagement. The Directors departed so far from their rule of non-intervention as to authorise the Governor-General to assume the administration, if he felt this extreme measure to be necessary; but Bentinck, who was on the point of leaving India, forbore and left the problem to his successors.

Non-Intervention in Other States

With the exception of the minor military operations required to allay these troubles, Lord William Bentinck's term of office was one of unbroken peace. Its chief interest and value lie in administrative progress and reform. After

* The Nawāb-Wazīrs enjoyed the title and outward dignities of sovereignty from 1819, when Ghāzī-ud-dīn Haidar was crowned.

making a careful enquiry Bentinck issued his courageous proclamation against the rite of *Sati* in 1829, making the burning of a Hindu widow upon her husband's funeral pyre a criminal offence. He also set on foot those active measures against the Thugs, which in the course of a few years completely suppressed this religious guild of murderers. He renewed the attempt to check the practice among the Rājputs of killing their female infants.

**Administra-
tive Progress
and Reform**

The Governor-General was strongly in favour of disregarding distinctions of race and creed in the public service, and he favoured the larger employment of Indians in positions of responsibility. By the Regulations of 1831 the number of Indian magistrates was increased and their rank and pay were raised. A great reform was effected by abolishing the Provincial Courts established by Cornwallis. To supply the place of the Judges, who went on circuit and held criminal sessions in each district twice a year, Bentinck gave magisterial powers to the District Judges, who were to hold a jail delivery once a month. An additional High Court was established at Allahābād for the North-West Provinces; and a new Board of Revenue was also appointed for the same area. The details of a thirty-years' settlement were patiently worked out by a Revenue Commission under Mr. Bird.

The Charter of the Company was renewed in 1833. The powers of government were continued to the Company for another term of twenty years; but the monopoly of the trade with China was abolished. The Company was directed to abstain in future from all commercial transactions. Its stock and plant were to be sold up, and arrangements were made for paying off the whole of the Proprietors' capital in a period of forty years. A fourth Presidency was to be created out of the territories of Agra and Oudh (by a subsequent Act permission was given to reduce this administrative area to the status of a lieutenant-governorship); a Law Member was added to the Governor-General's Council; and directions were given to appoint a Commission, which should consider how the laws might

**The Renewal of
the Charter:
1833**

be improved and made uniform throughout India. The principle was laid down that "no natives of the said territories (those of the East-India Company), nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company." And finally the Governor-General in Council was directed to consider measures for bringing to an end, as speedily as possible, the state of slavery throughout the territories of the Company.*

But, of all the changes made under Bentinck, by far the most important in its consequences was the decision of his Government to partake in and promote the spread of English education. Up to this

**The Education
Controversy:**
1835

time the slender grant, allotted to the encouragement of literature and science according to the terms of the Charter of 1813 had been spent on Hindu or Muhammadan Colleges, in which the old traditional lore was taught, or upon the laborious translation of Western books of Science into Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, and the publishing of English translations of Oriental books. A great battle was fought at the Board of Education between the Orientalists, led by Horace Hayman Wilson, and the Anglicists, led by Macaulay and the ardent young civil servant, Charles Trevelyan. We cannot doubt that, on the main issue of that time, the Anglicists were right. They won the day, and English became the natural and easy medium for the exchange of western and eastern thought. It opened up to India the storehouse of the wisdom and learning of Europe; and it enabled Indians to express their thoughts and aspirations to Great Britain and the world. While Macaulay had been arguing the case on the broad grounds of reason, Duff, the Scotch missionary, was showing in his Institution with what eagerness and success his students sought and acquired the new learning.

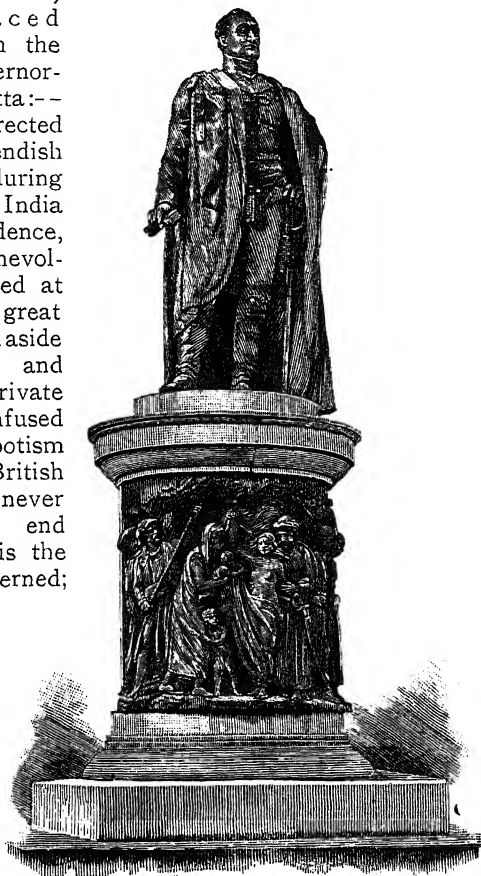
* Slavery was abolished in British India by a Legislative Act of Council under Lord Ellenborough in 1843. The Law Commission, of which Macaulay was the chief member, drew up the first draft of the Indian Penal Code. It continued to sit for many years, and the Penal Code and Codes of Procedure were not promulgated till 1859-61.

There can be no better epitaph on Bentinck's labours for the good of India than Macaulay's balanced and polished

Bentinck's phrases,
Epitaph placed
upon the

statue of the Governor-General at Calcutta:--

"This statue is erected to William Cavendish Bentinck, who during seven years ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence; who, placed at the head of a great empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen; who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed; who abolished cruel rites; who effaced humiliating distinctions; who allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion; whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the



BENTINCK'S STATUE AT CALCUTTA

Government committed to his charge. This monument was erected by men, who, differing from each other in race, in manners, in language, and in religion, cherish with equal

veneration and gratitude, the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration."

SIR CHARLES METCALFE: A.D. 1835-1836.—Sir Charles Metcalfe filled the post of Governor-General on the retirement of Lord William Bentinck. There was, however, a prejudice against appointing a servant of the Company to the highest office, and Lord Auckland was sent out to supersede him. Metcalfe distinguished his brief period of power by one bold action. He abolished the special Press Regulations and left journalists subject only to the ordinary laws against libel and sedition. This liberal measure gave great offence to the Directors, who considered it premature; and Metcalfe, who had been given charge of the new Province of the North-West and had received the further consolation of being nominated to the Governor-Generalship, feeling that he no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Board, retired from the service.

LORD AUCKLAND: A.D. 1836-1842.—The first Afghan war overshadows all other events in Auckland's term of office. When Nādir Shāh's empire broke up, the rule of Afghānistān passed into the hands of the Durānī chieftains. Their hereditary prime ministers came from the Bārakzāi clan. In 1809 the Durānī sovereign, Shāh Shujā, was driven from his country and took refuge in the Panjāb, his throne being ultimately usurped by Dost Muhammad, one of the Bārakzāis, in 1826.

We have now come to the time when the Russian bogey succeeds to the French. The steady and irresistible

**The Russian
Peril**

advance of Russia in Central Asia had aroused the fears of the Indian Government. They anticipated that, unless measures were taken to prevent it, both Persia and Afghānistān would speedily fall a prey to the insatiable maw of the Muscovite. It was the desire of the British to form a defensive alliance with the two threatened countries against Russia and to preserve them as independent buffer States. Captain Burnes was sent, therefore, on an embassy to Kābul to negotiate a treaty with the Amīr. Dost Muhammad naturally sought to get the best terms he could, and,

as a part of the price of alliance, he asked the British to assist him to recover Peshāwar, which Ranjīt Singh had taken from the Afghans. The Calcutta Government, however, was quite unable to consider this proposal, which would have embroiled it with its Sikh allies; and Dost Muhammad dismissed the British envoy and bestowed his favours on a

Russian, who had arrived at his Court. Lord Auckland decided upon war. His plan was to carry the fugitive Shāh Shujā to Kābul and there set him again on his throne by the combined might of the Sikh and British armies. A tripartite agreement was entered into by Ranjīt Singh, Shāh Shujā, and the Company.



RANJIT SINGH

By kind permission of the Indian Office

The British armies marched

by way of Sindh and Balūchistān and concentrated at Kandahār under the command of Sir John Keane, encountering many difficulties in the deserts of sand and the rugged mountain defiles which they traversed in the long way. When the further advance on Kābul was commenced, the fortress of Ghazni was taken and Dost Muhammad fled northward. The British troops entered the capital without resistance and set Shāh Shujā upon his throne. But there could be no love among the tribesmen for a king who had been thrust upon them by foreign bayonets. All went well so long as

**The First
Afghan War:
1839-42**

silver was paid out freely to the Afghan chiefs, but when the Government at Calcutta, unable to sustain any longer the frightful cost of the military occupation, began to draw its purse-strings tight, the trouble commenced. There were risings in many quarters. Dost Muhammad made an incursion from the north and caused some alarm; but he surprised every one by appearing suddenly before the British envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, and tendering his sword in token of surrender. He was sent in honourable custody to Calcutta.

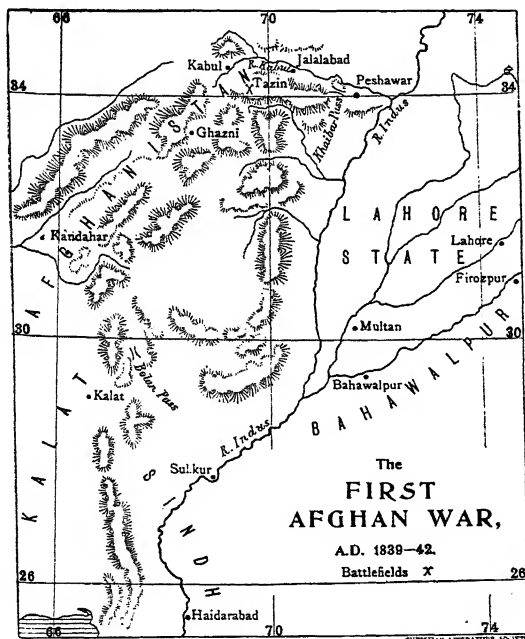
By the autumn of 1841, the situation had become dangerous. The British garrison had been foolishly withdrawn from the Bālā Hissār, the citadel of

**The Fatal
Retreat: 1841**

Kābul, and was encamped in an indefensible position on the plain. Sir Alexander Burnes' house in the city was attacked by a mob in September, and he was slain. The British General, Elphinstone, was too old and too ill to take strong and decided measures. Valuable time was wasted in negotiations, and unsuccessful skirmishes were fought with the tribesmen who were now swarming in the city and on all the surrounding heights. Macnaghten opened negotiations for the terms of a retreat, and was assassinated at the last parley by Akbar Khān, the son of Dost Muhammad. When at last the troops began to move off from their cantonments, leaving their guns behind them according to agreement, the winter had set in and the snow lay thick upon the ground. At the first pass they were attacked by the Ghilzais, and almost all military order disappeared, save among a few of the English companies and their officers. The soldiers were shot down by their merciless foes, or they fell exhausted in the snow, never to rise again. The end of the story is that out of a force, comprising 4,500 combatants and twice that number of camp-followers, there was but one survivor. Dr. Brydon's pony carried him, wounded and reeling in his saddle, into Jalālābād where Sir Robert Sale was holding out.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH: A.D. 1842-1844.—In the gloom produced by this unequalled calamity Lord Auckland returned to England, and his place was taken by Lord Ellen-

borough. The new Governor-General's first duty was to retrieve the disaster. General Nott had a strong force under him at Kandahār, and Sir Robert Sale not only held Jalālābād secure, but also defeated the Afghans, when they gave him battle in the open field. General Pollock was appointed to command the army of relief, which was to advance from the Panjāb. He found the troops there



utterly disheartened and disorganised : at the very name of the Khaibar Pass the liver of the sepoys melted. Ellenborough, too, added to the difficulties of the General by his hesitation. Now that Ranjit Singh was dead, the Governor felt that the Sikhs could no longer be trusted to maintain the alliance ; and, if they rose in the rear of the expeditionary force, a second disaster greater than the first might ensue.

Fortunately the Generals were not men who shrank from the responsibility of deciding, which Ellenborough ultimately left with them, and they gladly accepted the risks of an advance. General Pollock forced the entrance of the Khaibar Pass and joined hands with Sale at Jalālābād.

**Second
Advance on
Kabul: 1842**

At Tāzīn, on ground which was white with the bones of the Kābul garrison, he smote and routed the opposing Afghans and pushed on to the capital. Meanwhile Nott advanced from the side of Kandahār, and united his army to Pollock's. The Company having thus vindicated its honour and power, the Generals received orders to retire from the country. The Great Bazaar at Kābul was blown up, and the British forces were brought back to India without loss. Dost Muhammad was permitted to return to Afghānistān, where he resumed his sway without opposition.

Lord Ellenborough issued two bombastic proclamations, in one of which he announced that General Nott was returning with the Gates of Somnāth, of which, by his orders, the tomb of Māhmud at Ghaznī had been despoiled. He called upon the princes of the north to carry them back in procession to the distant temple. It was a foolish theatrical idea, never carried out, and was condemned by public opinion both in England and in India. The gates were spurious and rested for many years neglected at Agra. The Governor-General also arranged for a great triumphal reception to be given to the victorious armies at Ferozpur on the hither bank of the Sutlej.

The only considerable increase of the Company's territories under Ellenborough's administration was brought about by the war with the Amīrs of Sindh.

**The
Annexation
of Sindh:
1843**

These were Balūchī chieftains, whose ancestors had invaded and annexed the country lying along the lower reaches of the Indus. They were grouped in three principalities, each with its leading chief. They had tried to keep aloof, as far as possible, from any connection with the British. When one of them saw Lieutenant Burnes' mission proceeding up the river in 1830, bearing its gift of English cart horses to Ranjit Singh from the President of the

Board of Control, he exclaimed—"The mischief is done: the English have seen our country!" In 1832 they were induced to sign a Treaty, by which they opened up the Indus to commerce, but refused to allow the passage of troops through their territories. "The contracting parties bound themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." In 1839, in spite of this agreement, the British armies were marched through Sindh into Afghānistān, and the Amīrs were compelled to assent to a new Treaty, which imposed on them a military contingent and a subsidy. When the Afghan war was over, charges were brought against them of having failed to furnish supplies and of having obstructed the movements of the British troops during the operations. Sir Charles Napier, a hot-headed soldier, fresh from Europe, was appointed to examine into and settle the affair. There can be no doubt that he was grievously misled by the craft of Alī Murād, who was eager to supplant his brother, the venerated chief of Khairpur; but he was also too anxious to find and lay hold on any pretext for annexation. The Amīrs were goaded into war, and their power was broken in the two battles of Miānī and Haidarābād in 1843. The Company was justified, perhaps, in bringing these States within the system of subordinate alliances; for it could not afford to have a weak and independent confederacy on a frontier so open to invasion; but neither the right nor the necessity to destroy these chieftains is apparent. The car of Empire rolled over them and crushed them ruthlessly. Napier himself wrote in his frank and rash way:—"We have no right to seize Sindh; yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be." He was not far out, when, after his victories, he sent his brief punning despatch—"Peccavi," which, being interpreted, is, "I have sinned (Sindh)." Napier proved himself as excellent a civil Governor, as he was a brilliant General.

In the same year there was an outbreak in the Gwālīor State, which required an armed intervention. An enterprising girl-queen, twelve years of age, the widow of Jan-kojī Sindhe, who died in 1843, made her favourite the

Regent against the wishes of the British Government. The real cause of anxiety, however, lay in the army, which was 40,000 strong and had a powerful artillery. There was no longer any use for an establishment of this size in a protected State; it was simply spoiling for mischief, and could not be controlled by the Queen or her ministers. Lord Ellenborough crossed the Chambal with the force under the command of Sir Hugh Gough. The army of Gwālīor was met and beaten after a hard fight at Mahārājpur, and also on the same day another division of it was defeated at Pannīār. The Rānī submitted; and by the terms of the settlement it was provided that the army should be reduced to one-third of its former strength, and that the government should be carried on by a Council of Regency, acting under the advice of the British Resident, until the heir to the throne came of age.

**The Gwalior
Outbreak:
1843**

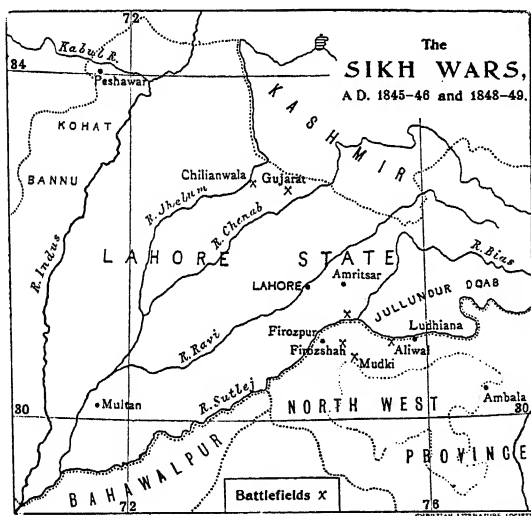
Shortly afterwards Ellenborough was recalled by the Board of Directors. They recognised his disinterested zeal in the public service; but his changeableness, want of judgement, and love of display caused them to feel that the great powers of his office could not be left any longer in his hands with safety.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE: A.D. 1844-1848—Their choice fell upon Sir Henry Hardinge—a soldier who had won fame in the Peninsular Wars under Wellesley. The great event of his time is the war with the Sikhs. This quarrel was thrust upon the British by the army of the Khālsa. After Ranjīt Singh's death in 1839, a period of anarchy followed in the Lahore kingdom. Within five short years a son and a grandson of the late monarch, a Queen-Regent, and one who was, by repute, a son of Ranjīt Singh had been nominal sovereigns. In 1844, the point at which we take up the tale, the Mahārāja was an infant son of Ranjīt Singh, by name Dalīp Singh, for whom his mother acted as Regent, with Lāl Singh, her Brāhman paramour, as her prime minister, and Tej Singh as commander-in-chief.

The real power, however, lay with the Councils of Five (*Panji*) in the army. These did as they pleased,

and were restlessly seeking for the renown and profit of warfare and conquest. The only outlet lay to the east; and at length, with the encouragement of the Regent and her minister, who were glad to find dangerous employment for the battalions which gave them so much anxiety, the army of the Khālsa poured across the Sutlej into the territories of the Company. It was the most formidable enemy the British had ever encountered in India—alike from the religious fervour and natural courage of the Sikhs and from their excellent

First Sikh War:
1845-46



discipline and equipment. The regiments had been trained by French officers, and possessed a splendid field and siege artillery, which they knew how to work. Sir Hugh Gough hastened to meet them, the Governor-General himself at one time serving as his Second-in-Command. Two tremendous shocks of battle followed at Mūdki and Ferozeshāh, in the latter of which the exhausted British troops just managed to snatch a victory by a final effort on the morning, which broke upon a night of horrors (December, 1845). At Aliwāl Sir Harry Smith won a brilliant victory

in a well-managed affair; and finally Gough, who at length had learned that something more is expected of a General than ramming his men headlong upon an enemy's batteries, drove the Sikhs out of their entrenchments on the bank of the Sutlej at Sobrāon (February, 1846). Their loss in this battle, both in men and in guns, was so heavy that there was no more resistance, when the British troops crossed the river and advanced on Lahore.

Here a treaty was concluded. It was settled that the British boundary should be brought forward to the Bias; an indemnity of one and a half crores was to be paid (of this amount Gulāb Singh made himself responsible for one crore, on condition that he should be recognised as Rāja of Kashmīr); the Sikh army was to be reduced and some of its remaining artillery surrendered. The government was left in the hands of the Queen-Mother, with Lāl Singh as her Diwān. A British Resident, Major Henry Lawrence, was appointed to reside at the Court, and at the request of the Regency Government, which knew itself to be unable to control the army, a British contingent was to be stationed at the capital for a period of twelve months, increased subsequently to eight years.

The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were raised to the peerage for their services. Lord Hardinge spent the remainder of his time in carrying out improvements in the administration. The military expenditure was cut down by reducing the size of the army. The first great irrigation project of the British Government, the Ganges Canal, was pushed forward; and encouragement was given to railway enterprise, then in its infancy. Lord Hardinge was warmly thanked by the progressive classes for issuing a recommendation that posts in the public service should, by preference, be given to those who had received an English education.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE: A.D. 1848-1856.—Lord Dalhousie was the youngest* and the last but one of the Governors-General, and he takes rank with the greatest. Descended from an ancient noble family of Scotland, he had already

* He was only thirty-six years of age, when he came to India.

made his mark in English political life as Vice-President and then President of the Board of Trade. In this capacity it had been his duty to report to Parliament on the hundreds of schemes that were brought before the British public during the railway mania. The young statesman showed an extraordinary power of getting through work as well as a sound judgement in condemning or commending. His selection for India was an honour which he had well earned. Dalhousie proved himself to be a master who expected prompt obedience and efficient service; but those who were under him—and some of them were strong and able men of great experience—found it easy to submit to one so worthy to command, and they rendered to him a willing and whole-hearted allegiance.



THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE

Though Dalhousie's name has been often associated with a policy of political aggression, his heart was really in domestic reform, and perhaps his **Public Works** greatest achievements are to be found in that branch of government. His experience at the Board of Trade fitted him to deal with the great engineering schemes that were now being commenced or brought to a completion. In his time the Ganges Canal was opened, and a beginning was made with the construction of railways. To deal more adequately with such projects as these the

Governor-General formed a new Department of Public Works, and having brought the finances into a sound and flourishing condition, he found all the money which it needed out of current income or by public loans.

It is characteristic of Dalhousie that he was the first to cause a Report of Moral and Material Progress to be written. In 1850 he passed an Act which established the principle of the liberty of conscience in the government of British India. By it the Company ceased to recognise or to enforce as law any prescription or custom which inflicted disabilities merely for change of religious faith. Himself a deeply religious man and always respectful towards the religions of others, Dalhousie saw the necessity in India for Government to follow a policy of strict neutrality and true toleration. He distinguished between the duties of the Church and of the State, leaving every man free to follow the bidding of his conscience and reason.

In 1854 Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, sent out to India the memorable Education Despatch, which laid the foundations of popular and of higher education by the State. It required the Government to create a system of elementary schools throughout India, giving instruction to the people in their vernaculars. It established a University with affiliated Colleges in each Presidency, and provided for grants-in-aid to be given to private schools. The Governor-General was in full sympathy with the plans of the President of the Board of Control, and he had anticipated many of his proposals in the letters which he addressed to the Home Board. Dalhousie also introduced the cheap half-anna rate for the inland postage and lowered the rates for the foreign mails.

Yet, with all his zeal for administrative reform, Dalhousie has been spoken of as if his chief interest lay in annexation, either by conquest or by applying the doctrine of lapse. It is true that there were two great wars in his time, but neither of them was of his seeking. The army of the Khālsa did not long remain quiet under the Council

**Moral
and Material
Progress**

**Education
and the Post
Office**

**The Second
Sikh War:
1848-49**

of Regency. The Governor of Mūltān, Mūlrāj, declined to pay the tribute demanded of him by the Lahore Government and offered to resign his post. The two British officers, Anderson and Agnew, who were sent to take over charge at Mūltān were attacked and murdered in the city, and Mūlrāj raised the standard of revolt. Herbert Edwardes, with a miscellaneous force hastily collected from many quarters, won some astonishing victories and succeeded in penning up Mūlrāj in his capital; but, even when reinforced by a brigade under General Whish, he was not strong enough to reduce the fortress. Dalhousie refused to allow the campaign against the Sikhs, now everywhere in arms again, to be begun until the hot weather was past. When the preparations were complete, he delivered, before leaving Calcutta for the front, a speech so rousing that report says it reduced a Colonel to tears and caused a subaltern to exclaim that he felt able to fight a whole regiment. The Governor-General declared that he had not desired war, but since the Sikhs would have it so, war they should have and "war with a vengeance." Lord Gough was again in chief command, and he repeated his mistake of thoughtless daring at Chilianwāla. Here, late in the afternoon, the British came unexpectedly upon the Sikh army, and were launched upon its trenches in a blind and confused attack. The Sikhs were, in the end, driven from the field, but they took up a position three miles farther on, and the British lost in killed and wounded no fewer than 2,000 men beside several colours and guns (January, 1849). The loss was so heavy and the generalship was so bad that an outcry was raised against continuing Lord Gough in command, though all recognised his energy and personal courage; and Sir Charles Napier was sent out from England to supersede him. Before, however, the new Commander-in-Chief could arrive, Gough had retrieved his reputation and crushed the Sikh power in the decisive battle of Gujarāt (February, 1849), which even the critics of the General admitted was planned and fought in a masterly fashion. It annihilated the army of the Khālṣa. The Afghans, who had made common cause with the Sikhs, were

chased out of the country right up to the gates of the Khaibar Pass.

Dalhousie decided to annex the Panjāb, assigning a pension to Dalip Singh, and he placed the province under the administration of a Board, consisting of three members. Of these the best known were the two brothers, Henry and John Lawrence—one the friend and champion of the old nobles and chiefs, the other setting the prosperity and contentment of the peasantry above everything else.* The officers of the Panjāb Commission were carefully selected, and their work was inspected and supervised by Dalhousie himself, who toured extensively in the country and made himself familiar with the details of the administration. Within a few years complete peace was established in the newly acquired territory. The borders toward Afghānistān were protected by a chain of forts and a mobile frontier column; internal feuds were suppressed; a light and equitable assessment was laid upon the land; and great public works, roads and canals, were planned and carried out by the labours and genius of Robert Napier. The settlement of the Panjāb was a source of great satisfaction to the Governor-General, and it owed much to his own direction and efforts.

The King of Burma was no more wise and prudent in 1851 than his predecessor had been in 1824. English merchants and ship captains complained to the Indian Government of injustice and outrage at Rangoon. The British envoys were treated with contumely, and every endeavour to settle the affair by negotiation failed. Dalhousie took up again the gage of battle. He was determined not to fall into the mistake of the earlier war, and made the most ample and careful provision for the housing and feeding of the expeditionary troops. As formerly, the Burmese soldiers offered a feeble resistance, and Rangoon and Prome were occupied. Since the King still refused to treat with the conquerors, Dalhousie took no further notice of him and

* John Lawrence afterwards became the sole Chief Commissioner.

annexed Lower Burma, or Pegu, by proclamation.* The administration was placed under Major Phayre, and a marvellous growth in the trade of Rangoon and improvement in the material resources of the country followed.

In India it had been the custom for a ruler, in the absence of heirs of his body, to adopt a son as successor to his throne. Such an act of adoption by a feudatory prince needed to be recognised and confirmed by his Suzerain; for the principle on which both Hindu and Mughal Emperors proceeded was that a fief lapsed to the Suzerain on the failure of natural issue, and might be resumed by him, if he so pleased. This, at least, was how the British Government read and understood Indian history. In 1834 the Court of Directors had written to Lord William Bentinck:—"Wherever it is optional with you to give or withhold your consent to adoption, the indulgence should be the exception and not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of approbation;" and, in accordance with this instruction, several territories had been resumed by the Company as Paramount Power before Dalhousie's time. Dalhousie, therefore, did not invent the Doctrine of Lapse, neither was he in favour of following it out invariably. His own view was that adoption should be allowed, as a rule, in most subordinate States, and that only those States should be acquired through the failure of heirs, which had been created by the British power and were wholly dependent upon it.

We must remember, however, that Dalhousie was a strong believer in the benefits of British rule, and he approved of the line of action which had been marked out by Lord Auckland and his Council:—"Our policy should be to persevere in the one clear and direct course of

* The character and aims of Dalhousie lie open to view in the words of his private diary, written in the last hours of the year 1852, and reviewing its events:—"God He knows how fervently I desired to avert this necessity of war. God He knows that to Him alone I give the glory of our victories and of this conquest; and however our poor human weakness and contracted foresight may fret and lament over a necessity which I deprecated and still regret, He of His omniscience and goodness will over-rule the issue to our weal and to the benefit of the human race."

abandoning no just or honourable accession of revenue or territory, while all existing claims of right are scrupulously respected." At this time, both in the Board of Directors and in the Board of Control there was a feeling against perpetuating Governments, which seemed to exist only to 'plague and disgrace' the Company and the Parliament; and Dalhousie was in favour of taking advantage of a failure of natural heirs to abolish an effete or corrupt rule. With him the welfare of the people was the sovereign law.

The following, then, were the principles which guided the Governor-General in dealing with each case that was brought before him for settlement. He considered, first, what was the rank of the State and its relationship to the Supreme Government; and, secondly, what decision would be most beneficial to the people. The kingdom of Sātārā had been revived by the British in 1819 on the downfall of the Peshwā. The first Rāja gave so much trouble that he was deposed, and his brother was installed in his place. He was without male issue, and adopted a son only on his death-bed in 1848. Dalhousie recommended that the adoption should be disallowed, and that this "dependent principality" should be resumed by the Company. Similarly, when the Rāja of Nāgpur died in 1853, without leaving even an adopted heir, he advised the Court to bring the dynasty to an end. About the same time the Company refused to recognise the adoption of an heir in the Jhānsi State, on behalf of whom the Rānī wished to act as Regent. Other lesser principalities, which were annexed by Dalhousie through Lapse were Jaitpur (1849), Sambalpur (1849), Baghat (1851), and Udaipur in Bengal (1852). Thus there were seven annexations in all. In the case of the Rājput State of Karauli Dalhousie's recommendation to annex it was not accepted; and he cheerfully acquiesced in the decision of the Court.

The Governor-General also did away with several titular dignities. The Nawāb of Arcot and the Rāja of Tanjore had long ceased to be ruling princes, and on their death their titles were abolished.* In 1853 the ex-Peshwā,

* The title of Prince of Arcot was revived after the Mutiny.

Bājī Rao, died at Bithūr. His nephew, Nānā Sāhib, was greatly incensed that the Government refused to continue to him the personal allowance of eight lakhs a year, which his uncle had enjoyed. Dalhousie also stipulated that, on the death of the aged Bahādur Shāh, his heir should remove from Delhi, though he was willing to allow him a handsome pension and the title of King.

**Abolition of
Titles**

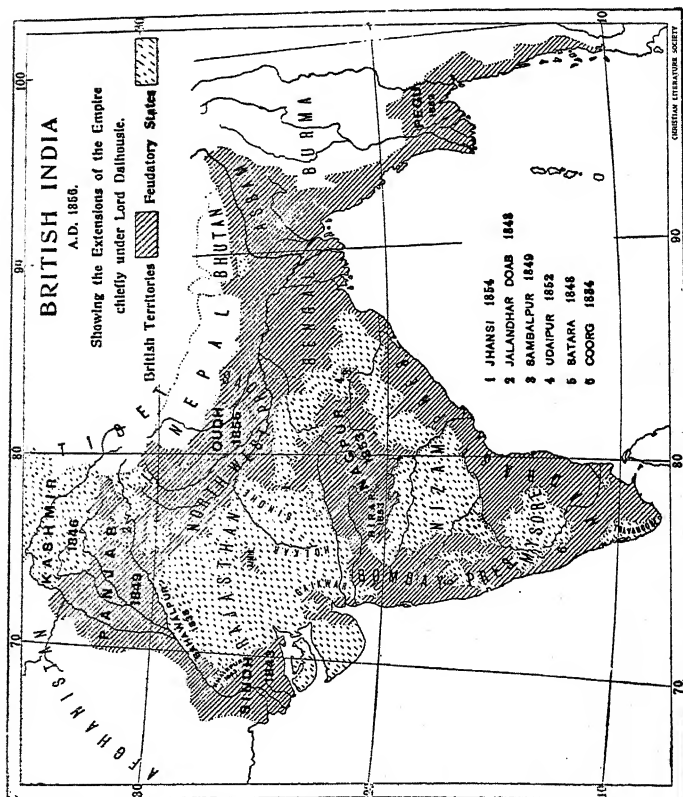
In the Nizām's Dominions and Oudh Dalhousie was confronted with the problem, which had caused Bentinck so much perplexity. The government of the reigning Nizām, Nāsir-ud-daula, was as inefficient as it well could be. The prince allowed his ministers to conduct all the business of the State, and the usual evils of borrowing money at exorbitant rates of interest sprang up. The Nizām owed large arrears to the Company for the pay of the Haidarābād Contingent.* The authorities in England were in favour of bringing the rule of the Nizām to an end, but Dalhousie resisted the pressure which they put upon him and took milder measures. He used persuasion and gave advice; and he settled the question of arrears by an arrangement satisfactory to both parties. The Nizām consented to hand over the Birārs to be administered by the Company. The charge for the Contingent was to be met out of the revenue of these "Assigned Districts," any balance left over being paid to the Nizām and his sovereignty being preserved (1853).

In Oudh the patience of the Directors was exhausted. The king, Wājid Alī Shāh represented worthily the weaknesses and vices of his ancestors; and the Court issued orders that he should be deposed and his territories brought under the direct administration of the Company. Though Dalhousie had no doubt in his own mind as to the justice of this sentence and carried it out without fear or hesitation, he himself wished to temper justice with mercy, and

**The
Annexation
of Oudh**

* This was different from the subsidiary force. It was the auxiliary contingent of his own troops, which Nizām Alī engaged to maintain in 1800; and it was placed by a subsequent arrangement under the training of British officers. See p. 320.

he had proposed to the Board that the King should be required only to resign the government and allowed to live in his country still keeping his royal title. But the Governor-General was over-ruled by the Directors, and



Wājid Alī Shāh was removed to Calcutta, where he was settled upon a pension (1856).

The twenty years allotted to the Company by the last Charter expired under Dalhousie. There was some talk of bringing its government to an end; but finally the

Act of 1853 continued to it its powers. The new Charter did not specify any term of years: it merely declared that the Indian territories should remain under the administration of the Company, in trust for the Crown. Sanction was given for the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors to the Provinces of Bengal and the Panjāb. The Law Member of the Supreme Council was placed on the same footing as the other members, and thus became a fourth Ordinary Member. The Council was enlarged for legislative purposes. It was now to consist of twelve members, all of whom were officials. Their proceedings, however, were to be made public. And finally, the right of patronage, that is, of making appointments to the Indian Services, was taken from the Board of Directors. These Services were thrown open to competition, in accordance with the regulations framed by the Board of Control.

In 1856 Dalhousie resigned his charge into the hands of Canning and embarked for England. He was still young in years, but his health was completely broken by his unsparing devotion of himself to his public duties. Moreover, in the midst of his unremitting labours a heavy blow had fallen upon him. One of the first messages carried by the new telegraph line from the mouth of the river to Calcutta brought the news to him that the gracious and beautiful woman whom he loved and honoured as his wife had died at sea. When the storm of the Mutiny burst over India, the acts and measures of the late Governor-General were fiercely assailed and denounced by many of his countrymen. Dalhousie, wasted and crippled by disease, was unable to reply: yet, doubtless, in the few years of life that were left to him, he fulfilled the prayer of his opening manhood and abode in his weakness and pain "as unseduced by the false approbation of the multitude as undismayed by their menaces and clamour." His fair fame emerges clear from the darkness of that tempest as one who feared God and loved his fellow-men—a maker of modern India.

LORD CANNING: A.D. 1856-1862.—Lord Dalhousie was succeeded by Lord Canning. In his speech at the farewell

banquet given to him by the Court of Directors before he sailed for India the Governor-General elect had used the memorable words—"We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin." He hoped for peace, but his hopes were soon dashed to the ground.

The Shāh of Persia had invaded the Amīr's territories and taken Herāt. Canning found to his disgust that

**The
Persian War :
1856**

"an inglorious and costly" war would be necessary to compel the Shāh to retire. Sir James Outram led an expedition up the Persian Gulf, which took Bushire and defeated the Persian army. The Shāh then made peace, consenting to evacuate Herāt and renouncing all claims upon it.

But another and far greater trouble was brewing. This was the Mutiny, which was, of a truth, the cloud at

**The Mutiny :
Political
Grievances**

first no bigger than a man's hand, but growing till it covered and blackened all the heavens. The causes which led up to this outbreak were many, but perhaps they may be grouped under one or other of three heads—political, social or religious, and military.

The rapid growth of the British power had reduced some of the old ruling houses to impotence, and threatened ultimately to extinguish them. Dalhousie had given notice to the royal family of Delhi that they must quit the ancient capital. The young wife of the aged Bahādur Shāh was not willing that the last vestige of the imperial dignity should disappear, and was busy plotting on behalf of her son. Nānā Sāhib, resenting the loss of the pension which had been paid to his adoptive father, Bājī Rao, was preparing his revenge at Bithūr, and he looked forward to becoming the Peshwā at the head of a new Marāthā Confederacy. The Rānī of Jhānsī was aggrieved that her adoption of a son and heir to the throne had been disallowed. In Oudh the deposition of the king caused wide-spread sorrow among his subjects, from among whom the British army recruited many of its sepoys; while the landed nobles, the Tālūkdārs, observed with alarm and

anger the progress of a revenue settlement which, in their view, threatened to exterminate them as a class. Throughout the princely houses of India Dalhousie's application of the Doctrine of Lapse caused doubt and apprehension. The fine distinction which he drew between "dependent principalities" and "protected allies" was neither known nor understood. Thus there were many influential parties with political grievances, who were ready to stir up the sepoys to revolt.

On the other hand, the growth of the new civilisation, especially rapid under Dalhousie, alarmed the common people, who saw an old order giving way before it. Railways and telegraphs were thought to be sinister devices for fastening a foreign tyranny upon the people.



EARL CANNING

**Religious and
Social Unrest**

passing of measures of social reform, such as Dalhousie's Act legalising the re-marriage of Hindu widows, were all making for change. Universal education threatened to impair the social predominance of Brāhmans and the gains of priests who lived upon superstition. It was easy to raise the cry, "Our Religion and our Customs in danger." The Mutiny was thus, in one aspect of it, a bloody struggle of an old with a new civilisation. It was a part of the price of progress.

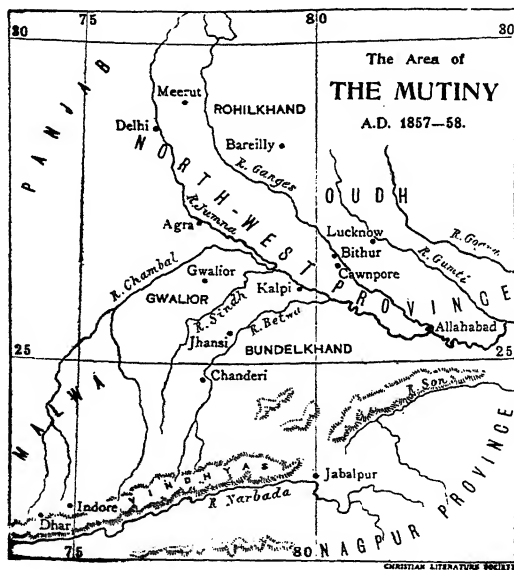
But it was more a military revolt than a national uprising; for no nation existed in India. As a whole,

the princely houses and the merchants of the cities held aloof from the movement, or loyally co-operated in suppressing it; while the mass of patient cultivators, save in Oudh, took small part in the struggle—they were not concerned with the rise and fall of dynasties. Had not the sepoys been nursing grievances of their own, the contest might never have arisen. They, however, were discontented with their pay and the new terms of enlistment, especially the obligation to serve abroad. They were proud of their past exploits, and saw the European troops in a minority of one to five. It was easy for political agitators and religious fanatics to excite their passions. They were as prone to the panic of superstition as the common folk, and the story that their new cartridges had been greased with the fat of the cow and the pig—a mixture equally abhorrent to Hindu and Muhammadan—was like the match which explodes a magazine of powder.

Early in the year 1857 signs of unrest had shown themselves in the Bengal army. An outbreak at Barrackpur, only sixteen miles from Calcutta, was suppressed by the prompt and fearless action of the General. Yet insubordination continued to be manifested elsewhere. Sepoys refused to receive or use the new cartridges, and military buildings were set on fire by night. The Mutiny may be said to have broken out on Sunday, May 10th, at Meerut, when most of the Indian troops in the garrison rose in a body, massacred their officers and all Europeans who fell into their hands, and burned their bungalows. Although there was a European force at hand more than sufficient to have quelled the revolt, there was delay in calling it out. When at length it was set in motion, it was too late. The mutineers were already on the road for Delhi and reached the city the next day. Here many of the English officers and soldiers were killed, others escaped into the surrounding country, while the faithful nine who held the arsenal kept off their assailants as long as possible and then blew the building up. Bahādur Shāh was brought forth from his *zanāna* and proclaimed Emperor of India. After this the flame of revolt spread rapidly far and wide, and the rebel regiments poured into the old Mughal capital.

The struggle gathers round the three cities of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, which are representative of the three chief sources of political disaffection—Mughal ambition, Marāthā restlessness, and the resentment of the Oudh nobles. Near Cawnpore, in his palace at Bithūr, resided Nānā Sāhib with Tāntiā Topī in his service. General Wheeler, who was in command of the garrison at Cawnpore, had placed his few European troops with their women and children in a weak entrenchment. Up to this

**The Three
Fields of
Disaffection:
Cawnpore**



time Nānā Sāhib had professed to be a friend of the English officers, but now he laid aside his mask, and in June invested the British lines. The frail earthen rampart was beaten down; and after holding out for three weeks the garrison accepted Nānā Sāhib's offer of safe escort to Allāhabād, and laid down their arms. They were no sooner embarked in boats upon the river than fire was opened upon them from both banks. Of those who

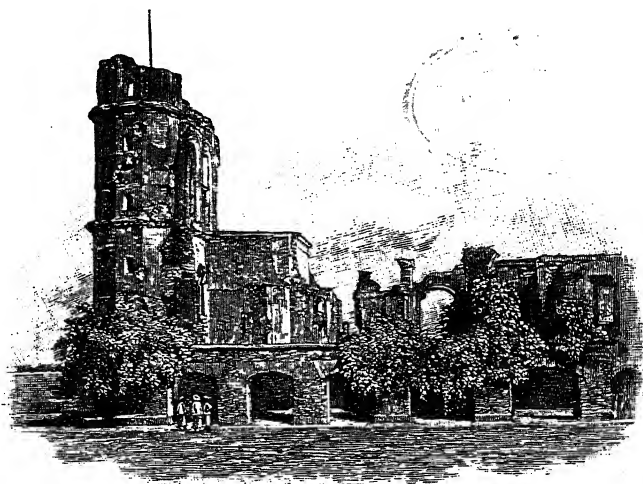
survived the deadly fusilade, the men were butchered at once, and the women and children were placed in confinement. Nānā Sāhib was now proclaimed Peshwā at Bithūr. Meanwhile Colonel Neill and General Havelock were coming up country by forced marches. They overthrew Nānā Sāhib's army in a final combat on July 16th, and pressed on into the city. They arrived too late; for before they entered, the women and children had been murdered by Nānā's orders and their mangled bodies cast into a well.

At Lucknow the noble Sir Henry Lawrence was Resident, and he foresaw and prepared for the storm.

The Lucknow Residency When it burst in June, the British troops and their faithful Indian helpers were placed in position in the trenches, which had been thrown up round the Residency. By the providence of the Resident a large store of grain had been collected and heaped up in the vaults below; and though Lawrence was mortally wounded by a cannon-shot a few days after the siege began, his spirit lived on in the garrison. He was buried hastily at night in the Residency grounds, and to-day a plain stone slab marks the spot, bearing the inscription—"Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." Havelock's first care was to relieve Lucknow; but when he started, he found that it was impossible for him with his small and wasted army to cut his way through the rebel lines, and he fell back on Cawnpore to wait for reinforcements.

Farther north a force had been collected and moved down to Delhi, where it took up a position upon the "Ridge." It was, however, so weak in numbers that for some weeks it was rather besieged than besieging. **The Siege of Delhi** But John Lawrence was now reaping the fruits of good government in the loyalty of the people of the Panjāb. He enlisted the Sikhs and border Pathāns, and sent them forward with every English soldier and gun that could be spared. At last the batteries were traced out against the city, and its walls were breached. On September 14th the assault was delivered. The British columns won a footing on the ramparts; but their success cost them dear; for John

Nicholson, as great in soul as he was in stature, was mortally wounded. He lived long enough to urge that there should be no going back, and after six days of desperate street-fighting the last rebel was driven out and Delhi was once more in the hands of the British. The old King was arrested at the tomb of Humāyūn, where he had taken refuge; and next day Hodson went to bring in his two sons and a grandson from the same sanctuary. While conveying his three prisoners to the fort, Hodson shot them down with his own hand: it is alleged that there



THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW

was a danger of an attempt at rescue by the crowd of armed retainers which pressed upon the princes. The recovery of Delhi, towards which the eyes of all were turned, established again the prestige of the British in India.

Meanwhile Havelock had been joined by Outram at Cawnpore. The senior officer chivalrously waived his right to command, and left Havelock to lead the relieving column. On September 25th he fought his way through the city into the Residency, but it was beyond his power to return. Final

**The Relief of
Lucknow**

relief did not come till two months later, when the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), forced a passage for the second time and by a skilfully planned movement carried off the garrison at night. The joy of this deliverance was chastened by the death of the Puritan soldier, Havelock, who sank under disease and excess of toil. "I have for forty years," he once said, "so ruled my life that when death comes, I might face it without fear." While Sir Colin Campbell was absent at Lucknow, Tāntiā Topī, the best General the mutineers possessed, had defeated a detachment under General Wyndham and again taken possession of Cawnpore. He was defeated with heavy loss by the Commander-in-Chief on his return, and driven from the city.

There remained now two tasks before the British—to re-establish their authority in Central India south of the Jumna, and also in Oudh and Rohilkhand north of the river. Both these regions were pacified by the end of 1858. Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn), with a small force from the Bombay Presidency, conducted a brilliant campaign in Central India. His chief adversaries were the Rāṇī of Jhānsī, who rode as a man among her troopers, and Tāntiā Topī. The English General laid siege to the Rāṇī's capital, beat off Tāntiā Topī when he came to the rescue, and took the city by storm. The fortress of Kalpī was next captured, and the strength of the rebels seemed to be broken. Tāntiā Topī, however, had a surprise in store. He marched upon Gwālīor, where the Rāja had remained loyal to the British. But on the approach of the rebel leader, the army of Sindhe deserted their young chief and went over in a mass to the enemy. Nothing daunted, Sir Hugh Rose marched his war-worn regiments against this new host which had sprung, as it were, full-armed from the ground. He drove Tāntiā Topī out of his entrenchments, and in the *mêlée* the Rāṇī of Jhānsī was cut down before she was recognised. The citadel of Gwālīor was recovered by a daring escalade. Another defeat completely broke up Tāntiā Topī's following, and he took to flight. For several months he

**Pacification of
Central India
and Oudh**

evaded pursuit in Rājputāna and Mālwā, but was betrayed and captured in April, 1859. He was put on his trial, condemned to death, and hanged.

In Oudh and Rohilkhand Sir Colin Campbell and Outram reduced the country to order. Lucknow was wrested from the possession of the mutineers, and the province was swept clear of their scattered and wandering bands. Nānā Sāhib is supposed to have fled into the jungles of the Tarai and was never heard of more. By the end of the year 1858, the Mutiny was practically extinct in all parts of India. Bahādur Shāh was tried and condemned to death for the part he took in the rebellion and in the massacres of women and children; but his sentence was commuted to transportation for life. He was removed to Rangoon, where he died in 1862.

We may liken the Mutiny to a thunderstorm, terrible and destructive while it lasts, yet purging the air and followed by clear shining. It taught Eng-
The End of the Company lishmen to look more carefully into their administration and to remedy its faults. For India its lesson is that no cause will ever prosper, the leaders of which stain their hands with deeds of treachery and cruelty. All parties in Great Britain felt that the Company had accomplished its work. In its time it had done away with not a few "dual systems": the last "double government" to be abolished was its own. By the Act of Parliament of August, 1858, the Company ceased to rule, and the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland stood forth without any mediating body as the Suzerain of India.

THE COMPANY AS THE PARAMOUNT POWER

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|---------|---|---------|---|
| 1805 | MARQUIS CORNWALLIS is Governor-General a second time. | 1804 | Napoleon Bonaparte becomes Emperor of the French. |
| 1805-7 | SIR GEORGE BARLOW is Governor-General. | 1806 | Death of William Pitt Junior. |
| 1806 | Vellore Mutiny. | | |
| 1807-13 | LORD MINTO is Governor-General. | | |
| 1809 | Treaties with Ranjīt Singh and Amīrs of Sindh. | 1809-13 | Wellesley's campaigns in the Peninsula. |
| 1810 | Capture of Isle de Bourbon and Isle de France (Mauritius). | | |
| 1811 | Capture of Java from the Dutch. | 1812 | Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. |
| 1813 | Renewal of the Charter. | 1813 | Napoleon crushed in the battle of Leipsic. |
| 1813-23 | LORD MOIRA (MARQUIS OF HASTINGS) is Governor-General. | 1814 | Treaty of Paris |
| 1814-16 | War with Nepāl: Capture of Malaun, battle of Makwanpur, treaty of Sāgaūlī. | 1815 | Battle of Waterloo; restoration of the Bourbons. |
| 1817 | Extirpation of the Pindāris. | | |
| 1817-18 | THIRD MARATHA WAR: 1817, November, battles of Kirkī and Sītābaldī Hill; December, battle of Mahīdpur; 1818, May, surrender of Bājī Rao. | | |
| 1823-28 | LORD AMHERST is Governor-General. | 1820 | GEORGE IV ascends the throne of England. |
| 1824-26 | First Burmese War: treaty of Yandabu; annexation of Tenasserim and Arakan. | 1821-28 | War for independence of Greece. |
| 1827 | Capture of Bharatpur. | 1825 | Nicholas becomes Czar of Russia. |
| 1828-35 | LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK is Governor-General. | | |
| 1829 | Suppression of Sati. | 1830 | WILLIAM IV ascends the throne of England. |
| | | 1830 | The first railway train runs in England. |
| 1831 | Mysore placed under a Commission. | 1831 | The first Reform Bill is passed. |
| 1833 | Renewal of Charter. | 1833 | Abolition of slavery in British colonies. |
| 1834 | Annexation of Coorg. | | |
| 1835 | Education Controversy. | | |
| 1835-36 | SIR CHARLES METCALFE is Governor-General. | | |
| 1836-42 | LORD AUCKLAND is Governor-General. | 1837 | VICTORIA ascends the throne. |

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COMPANY AS PARAMOUNT POWER (Contd.)

- 1839-42 First Afghan War : 1841, retreat of Kābul garrison ; 1842, second advance to Kābul.
- 1842-44 LORD ELLENBOROUGH is Governor-General.
- 1843 Annexation of Sindh.
- 1843 The Gwālior outbreak : battles of Mahārājpur and Panniār.
- 1844-48 SIR HENRY (LORD) HARDINGE is Governor-General.
- 1845-46 First Sikh War : 1845, December, battles of Mūdki and Ferozeshāh ; 1846, January, battle of Aliwāl ; February, battle of Sobraon.
- 1845-46 1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws in England.
- 1848-56 LORD DALHOUSIE is Governor-General.
- 1848 Second Revolution in Paris ; Republic restored.
- 1848-49 Second Sikh War : 1848, siege of Mūltān ; 1849, January, battle of Chilianwāla ; February, battle of Gujarāt ; annexation of Panjāb.
- 1849 Annexation of Sātārā.
- 1852 Second Burmese War : annexation of Pegu.
- 1853 Renewal of Charter.
- 1853 Annexation of Nāgpur State.
- 1853 Birārs assigned to Company.
- 1856 Annexation of Oudh.
- 1853 Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor of the French.
- 1854-56 Crimean War.
- 1856-62 LORD CANNING is Governor-General.
- 1855 Alexander II becomes Czar of Russia.
- 1856 Persian War.
- 1857 Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay founded.
- 1857-58 The Indian Sepoy Mutiny : 1857, May 10th, rising at Meerut ; June, Cawnpore massacre ; July, Havelock re-occupies Cawnpore ; September 14th, storm of Delhi ; September 25th, Havelock enters Lucknow ; November, Colin Campbell relieves Lucknow and draws off the garrison ; 1858, March, Colin Campbell recovers Lucknow ; April, Rose storms Jhānsi ; June, Rose takes Gwālior.
- 1858 (August 2nd) The Company's Government is abolished by Act of Parliament.
- 1858 (November 1st) The Queen's Proclamation is read in India.

CHAPTER XVII

India under the Crown: From A.D. 1858

The history now enters upon a period which brings us down to our own times. Many of the actors in the events described are still alive. We stand too near to them to see their work in its true proportions, and our record must be brief.

The Act of Parliament of 1858 created a new form of government for India. It appointed in place of the old Board of Directors and the Board of Control **The New Constitution** a Secretary of State for India who was a member of the British Cabinet. He was to be assisted by a Council of India, composed originally of fifteen members. The majority of these must have served or resided in India for a period of not less than ten years. The Viceroy or Governor-General, Governors of the Presidencies, and Ordinary Members of the Supreme Council were to be appointed by the Crown.

The Proclamation of November 1st, 1858, in which Queen Victoria announced this change to the princes and peoples of India has often been called the **The Queen's Proclamation** *Magna Carta* of Indian liberties. It promised to secure the princes in the possession of all their rights and privileges and to consider favourably the claims of the land-holding nobles. It offered an amnesty to all rebels, save those who had been guilty of murder; and it laid down the broad principle of religious neutrality and toleration. "We hold ourselves," so its words ran, "bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects: and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We

declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law: and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is further our will, that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

The Queen's Proclamation marks the beginning of a

new era in the relations of the Paramount Power and the Feudatory States. We have seen that the policy followed of late years by the Supreme Government was to neglect no just opportunity of annexing territory. The Doctrine of Lapse appeared to threaten every princely house in



THE QUEEN-EMPRESS VICTORIA

**Paramount
Power and
Feudatories**

India, though we have remarked the narrow limits within which Dalhousie would have applied it. There was a growing impatience in England with the backwardness of and disorder in the subordinate States; and the punishment inflicted upon the corrupt or hopelessly incompetent ruler had been to extinguish his dynasty. Now a new sentiment sprang up friendly to the Indian princes. English statesmen perceived that, though progress might be slow and long delayed in a Native State, yet when reforms came from the hand of an Indian ruler, they were more acceptable than when they were thrust upon the people by a British administrator; and that it was better patiently to train an Indian prince to govern well than to set him aside and do the work more efficiently in his stead. Moreover, the Native States offered a clear field for the use by Indians of their administrative abilities. The Paramount Power did not, and could not, renounce its right to interfere in the internal government of a Protected State; but henceforward, when maladministration compelled it to step in, it merely removed the offender from his high office and held the State in trust till a more worthy successor could be placed upon the throne. In a word, the Indian princes were no longer regarded as stumbling-blocks in the path of progress to be removed at the first opportunity: they became welcome "colleagues and partners in the task of administration."* Lord Canning announced in a series of *darbārs*, which were held after peace had been restored, that the Government would recognise and allow the right of adoption for a succession to a throne. By word of mouth and friendly letters he conveyed the same assurance to many reigning chiefs; and one of them exclaimed with gratitude that he felt as if an evil wind, which had long been blowing against his house, had sunk to rest at last. Canning also revised the settlement of Oudh, and granted terms which were much more favourable to the *Tālukdārs* than those originally contemplated.†

* Lord Curzon's speech at the State Banquet at Jaipur.

† We may notice that elsewhere legislation of another character was required. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859 was designed to afford the *ryots* some protection against the rapacity of their *Zamīndārs*.

The Viceroy's remaining years of office under the new régime were marked by some measures of great importance. In 1860 the Penal Code, on which **New Measures of Government** Macaulay's Commission had begun work so many years before, became the law of the land. It swept away a mass of inconsistent provincial regulations, and gave India what it had long needed, and never possessed up to that time, a simple, comprehensive, and humane system of criminal law, universal and impartial in its incidence. The Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure were brought into operation in 1859 and 1861. The Councils Act of 1861 re-constituted the Viceroy's Council. It added several non-official members to the Council for legislative purposes, and is noteworthy as being the first step towards the government of India through representatives of her peoples. The Mutiny added nearly forty million sterling to the debt of India, and created a deficit in the annual budget. Mr. Wilson was sent out from England as Finance Member of the Council to devise measures to restore the public credit. He imposed several new taxes, of which one—the Income Tax*—seems to have come to stay. The High Courts Act of 1861 amalgamated the Company's Sadr Courts and the Crown Supreme Courts in the High Courts, which were now established at each Presidency head-quarters.

Lord Canning's greatest achievement was his self-mastery at a time when racial passions ran high. The Governor-General was severely criticised in **"Clemency" Canning** Calcutta during the Mutiny for his caution and delays; and the English inhabitants petitioned for his recall. But Canning refused to yield to the clamour, and determined that justice, and not the lust of revenge, should control the actions of the Government. "As long as I have breath in my body," he wrote to his friend, "I will pursue no other policy than I have been following, because it is immutably just. I will not govern in anger. Justice, and that as stern, as inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and indiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India, as long as I am responsible

* It was abolished in 1873, and re-imposed in 1886.

for it." In time people came to recognise the nobility and strength which lay behind his marble front, and the nickname given him in contempt—"Clemency Canning"—has become his title of honour. He, like Dalhousie, left India bereaved of the wife who had shared his labours and stricken unto death.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: A.D. 1862-1863.—Lord Elgin, who succeeded to Canning, died after he had been a year and a half in office. The one event of his time which we shall



SIR JOHN LAWRENCE

notice was the campaign against the Wahābī fanatics on the North-West frontier. The first force despatched to chastise them was blocked up in the defiles. It was, however, extricated, and the Mulla's stronghold of Malka amid the Mahābān mountains was reached and destroyed. In

the interval before the arrival of Sir John Lawrence, Sir William Denison acted as head of the Government.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE: A.D. 1864-1869.—The new viceroy was an old civil servant of the Company, who had passed up through all the grades of its service and had won fame by his administration of the Panjāb and the help he had rendered in the stress of the Mutiny. The unrest among the frontier tribes led to his being selected as one who

knew them well. John Lawrence was a simple, strong, and upright man who cared little for display. His great aim as an administrator had been to give the ryots peace and plenty; but larger experience had taught him to sympathize also with the claims of the upper classes. He devoted much attention to revenue affairs in Oudh and the Panjāb: both the Oudh Rent Act and the Panjāb Tenancy Act are proofs of his anxiety to adjust equitably the rights of landlord and cultivator.

His administration was over-shadowed by a terrible famine in Orissa in the year 1866. There was as yet no

**The Famine
in Orissa**

railway communication with the Province, and during the monsoon grain could not be landed in sufficient quantities upon the coast. The miseries of the people were increased by floods from the rivers, which burst their banks when the rains at length descended. This calamity roused the Government to make more systematic attempts to cope with famine by the improvement of communications and the construction of irrigation canals. For the latter Lawrence established a separate department of public works.*

The Viceroy had again to face the Afghan difficulty. Dost Muhammad died in 1863 and his favourite son, Sher Ali, ascended the throne. The succession was disputed by his two elder brothers, Afzal Khān and Azīm

* Sir John Lawrence was the first to lay expressly upon Government officers the duty of protecting the people from starvation. After his time the famine policy of the Government was greatly enlarged and improved. Lord Northbrook saw the necessity of providing in the annual budget for famine contingencies, and Lord Lytton established the Famine Insurance Fund. After the terrible drought of 1876-78 a Commission was appointed, which drew up a large programme for the construction of protective railways, by means of which food might be carried to all parts, and of irrigation works. Lord Curzon was able to announce in 1900 that the railway part of that programme was practically completed. Subsequent Commissions have prepared or improved the Famine Codes, which instruct District officers when and how to act in times of scarcity, and contain lists of works that may be usefully undertaken as soon as famine conditions are established in any area. The loss of revenue and Government expenditure on relief operations in the famines of 1896-97 and 1900 came to about thirty million sterling, and over six millions of people were receiving help when the last famine was at its height. The wonderful improvement in the organisation for giving relief was shown by the comparatively small loss of life.

Khān. After some reverses, they got the upper hand, and drove Sher Ali from Kābul to Kandahār, and

**The Afghan
Question**

Afzal Khān was proclaimed Amīr (1866). Sher Ali sought for help and recognition as the rightful ruler from the Indian Government; but it had had bitter experience of the folly of interfering in Afghan disputes. While the authorities, both in England and in India, were firmly resolved to keep the Russians out of Afghānistān and were willing to support any Amīr against the Czar, they wished the Afghan chiefs to settle among themselves who should be their leader. Lawrence followed what was described as a policy of "masterly inactivity." He told both Sher Ali and Afzal Khān that he was sorry to observe this ruinous feud in the Bārakzāi house; that the Government of India could only recognise the actual or *de facto* Amīr, whoever he might be; and that he was prepared to recognise Afzal Khān as ruler of Kābul and Sher Ali as ruler of Kandahār. This policy was far from pleasing Sher Ali, to whom it naturally appeared to be cold and selfishly calculating.

In 1864 the Government was involved in a petty war with Bhutān. There were many complaints about the forays which the Bhutānese made upon the districts lying near to their hills. A mission was sent to treat with their chief; but the British envoy was insulted and coerced into signing a treaty which was immediately repudiated by the Government. A punitive expedition was despatched into the country; but Lawrence, seeing neither glory nor profit in such a campaign, put a speedy end to the hostilities. Peace was declared, Bhutān ceding the districts known as the Eighteen Dwārs and getting in return an annual subsidy of £5,000. When Lawrence retired from office, he was raised to the peerage.

**War with
Bhutan**

THE EARL OF MAYO: A.D. 1869-1872—The Earl of Mayo succeeded to the viceroyalty. His strong and handsome presence, his genial manners and ready sympathy made him beloved by all classes. One of his first duties was to try to come to a better understanding with Sher Ali,

who in 1868 had regained his position at Kābul. The Amīr met the Viceroy at a darbār held at Ambāla. He wished to obtain from the Government of India a treaty which would have committed it to support him against all rivals, while he, on his part, would promise to act as a faithful ally against the enemies of the British. This was farther than Mayo was prepared to go, and the two separated without any formal agreement being concluded.

Mayo spent his energies on internal improvement. The finances of India were in a serious condition. Four out of the five years of Lawrence's term had produced heavy deficits, and the normal expenditure was larger than the income. Mayo was determined that, however stringent might be the measures required, he would have no more running into debt. By re-organising the financial department, by cutting down expenditure on the army and public works, and by enhancing the Income and Salt taxes, his last two budgets showed large surpluses in place of deficits.

**Financial
Reforms**

The most beneficial of his reforms was the introduction of the Provincial Contract system. Up to this time the various Presidencies and Provinces had been accustomed to ask the Supreme Government each year for whatever they wanted. There was no limit set upon their demands; and each Local Government sought to obtain as much as possible and spent all that it got, for any balances left over had to be returned to the Imperial Treasury. Under the new arrangement the revenues allotted to the provincial Governments were fixed for a term of five years: and they were to be allowed to keep and dispose of, as they pleased, any surpluses which they accumulated. By this plan the Supreme Government was set free from an uncertain and variable demand, and the Local Governments were encouraged to practise thrift in the management of their revenues.*

**Provincial
Contract
System**

Mayo abolished some foreign export duties and broke down the Inland Customs 'hedge,' which once had stretched

* This principle was extended in 1877 when certain additional heads of income and expenditure were assigned to the Local Governments to be managed by them exclusively.

across India from the Indus to the Mahānadī and still hampered internal trade; and he also instituted a Department of Agriculture. In the course of his overhauling of the administration, the Viceroy came to the conclusion that the penal settlement in the Andamans cost more than it should, and that the treatment of the convicts needed to be improved. In 1872 he went on tour to Burma, and proceeded thence to the islands. There, as he was returning to his ship in the dusk of the evening, his mind revolving a scheme for the benefit of the Settlement, he was stabbed in the back by a convict, who lay lurking among the stones upon the quay: the Viceroy was dead when he was lifted on board.

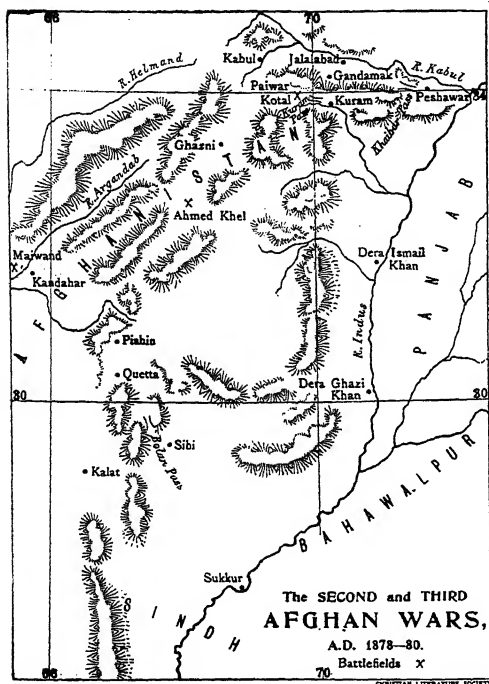
LORD NORTHBROOK: A.D. 1872-1876.—In Lord Northbrook's viceroyalty an heir to the British throne visited India for the first time. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, toured through the country and was received with loyal rejoicings everywhere (1875-76). Another event, much less happy, was the trial of the Gaikwār of Baroda for an attempt to poison the British Resident at his capital. Without a definite pronouncement as to his guilt on this charge, the English Government of the day ordered the Gaikwār to be deposed for general mismanagement (1875). Northbrook had, like his two predecessors, to consider the Russian problem. He was in favour of coming to a clear understanding with the Russian Government in Europe; and he conveyed to the Amīr the assurance received from St. Petersburg that there was no intention of invading or annexing his country. He was strongly opposed to the plan of Lord Salisbury, who was then at the India Office in London, of sending a British Resident to Kābul.

LORD LYTTON: A.D. 1876-1880.—Lord Northbrook resigned on account of ill health in 1876, and Lord Lytton took his place. By an Act of Parliament, introduced by the premier, Disraeli, in this year, the Queen took the title of Empress of India. On January 1st, 1877, a great *darbār* was held on the plains of Delhi to celebrate this assumption of imperial dignity. Meanwhile far away in the south the people were dying in their thousands. The Madras Presidency, the Mysore State, and the Deccan

were in the grip of a wide-spread and long-protracted famine; and there was the same absence of rapid communications as had hampered Lawrence. The Government spent vast sums of money on relief works and supplies of grain, and generous subscriptions were received

from abroad; but it is estimated that five millions of people perished.

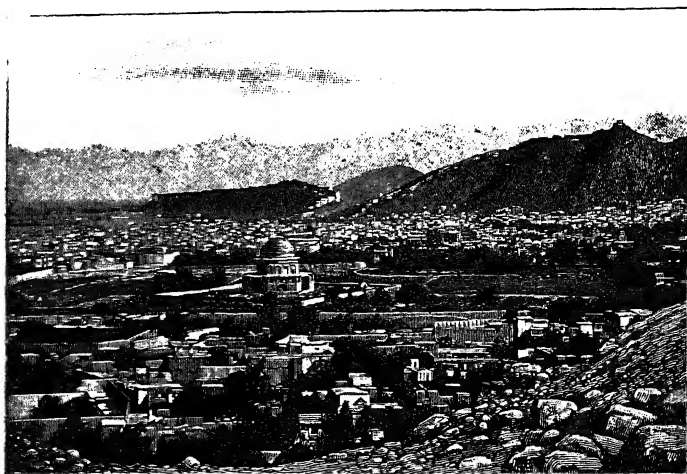
Sher Ali, long dissatisfied with the aloofness of the Indian Government, was aggrieved by its acquisition of Quetta in 1876; and, turning his face in displeasure from Calcutta, he received a Russian embassy in 1878. As soon as this became known, the British Cabinet in London



insisted upon his receiving an English envoy. The mission was turned back in the Khaibar Pass, and the war was declared. Three columns entered the country by way of the Khaibar, Kuram, and Bolān Passes. Sher Ali fled from his capital and died in exile. His son, Yākūb Khān, made terms of peace. By the Treaty of Gandamak (May, 1879) it was agreed that Afghānistān should have no diplomatic

The Second Afghan War

relations with Russia, that the frontier tracts of Sibi, Kuram, and Pishin and the suzerainty of the tribes holding the passes should be transferred to the British, and that a British Resident should be received at Kābul. The man chosen for this dangerous post was Sir Louis Cavagnari. Within a few weeks the calamity, foreseen and foretold by some Anglo-Indian statesmen, had come to pass. Cavagnari and his escort were attacked and slain in Kābul.



KABUL

A renewal of the war was now necessary. Sir Frederick (now Lord) Roberts marched upon the capital. Yakūb Khān surrendered and was deported to India. The British General placed his troops in a strong entrenchment near Kābul. As the winter of 1879 drew on, the tribesmen, mindful of what had taken place forty years before, came swarming about the English camp. But this time the garrison was under the command of a man, resolute and resourceful, who left nothing to chance. Roberts waited quietly and confidently for the onset of the

**The Third
Afghan War :
1879-80**

enemy, and when they came, repulsed them with heavy loss. Next year in July a British brigade was defeated at Maiwānd by Ayūb Khān, another son of Sher Ali, who had advanced upon Kandahār from Herāt. Roberts marched from Kābul to the relief of Kandahār, and reached the city in twenty days. He routed the forces of Ayūb Khān and captured all his guns. Meanwhile the Conservative Government had fallen in England, and a Liberal Government under Gladstone had succeeded (April). Lord Lytton resigned his office, and the Marquis of Ripon was sent to India to carry out the policy of withdrawal from Afghānistān, upon which the new English Cabinet had decided. Abdur Rahmān Khān, the son of Afzal Khān, was recognised as Amīr, and after he had been installed at Kābul, the troops were brought back to India without loss.



THE AMIR, ABDUR RAHMAN

This account of Afghan affairs may be brought

down to the present time in a few words. Abdur Rahmān

Later Afghan Affairs

proved to be a strong and sagacious, if merciless, ruler, and he kept his word with the British. The Indian Government undertook to defend his country against all foreign invaders, and assisted him with military supplies and an annual subsidy; while he, on his side, engaged to have no diplomatic intercourse with Russia and to regard the enemies of the British as his enemies.

In 1885, while a Boundary Commission was engaged in delimiting the territories of Afghānistān and Asiatic Russia, a collision took place in the Panjdeh district between the Russian and Afghan troops. It almost led to a war between England and Ruṣṣia; but the Amīr consented to waive his claim to the territory in dispute and peace was preserved. In 1893 Sir Mortimer Durand conducted a mission to Kābul, which resulted in a new agreement with the Amīr. The annual subsidy paid to the Amīr was raised to eighteen lakhs; while he recognised the right of the Indian Government to control his foreign relations and consented to a border zone between India and Afghānistān being delimited by British officers, over which their Government was to have suzerainty. Abdur Rahmān died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son, Habīb-ulla.

The disasters of the war with Japan and internal anarchy have put back the advance of Russia in Central Asia. The last phase of the Afghan problem is the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, by which the Government of the Czar recognises Afghānistān as outside the sphere of its political influence, and England renews its assurance that it has no intention of entering into or annexing the Amīr's territories.

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON : A.D. 1880-1884—The Marquis of Ripon will always be remembered for his measures of domestic reform. He removed the special restrictions laid upon the vernacular Press, repealing the Vernacular Press Acts of Lord Lytton; and in 1882 the Local Government Act was passed, which established the Municipal and District Councils. The object of this measure was to give the people a share in the management of their local affairs through their elected representatives, and to train them in self-government.

In 1881 Chamrājendra Oḍeyar, the adopted son of the late Mahārāja, Kṛishṇa Rāja Oḍeyar of Mysore, came of age. The British Government again proved the sincerity of its professions of goodwill to the Native States by handing over to the young prince a country which had been for fifty years under a British Commission.

In 1883 a Bill was introduced by Mr. Ilbert, the Law Member in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which proposed to extend the jurisdiction of all District Magistrates and Sessions Judges over Europeans resident in the interior of the country. Hitherto Europeans could be tried in these Courts only when presided over by their own countrymen. The Ilbert Bill was fiercely and bitterly opposed by the planting community of Assam, which would be most affected by it, and by the English residents of Calcutta. A compromise was arranged after a year of controversy: the enlarged powers were conferred on the Magistrates, but a European might claim the privilege of being tried before them by jury. The Marquis of Ripon retired a few months after the dispute had been settled, and left India amid many tokens of popular esteem.

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN: A.D. 1884-1888.—The Earl of Dufferin succeeded the Marquis of Ripon, and with great tact and ability continued the work he had begun. A Commission, presided over by Sir Charles Aitchison, brought in a scheme for the larger employment of Indians in the Civil Service.*

We have already alluded to the Panjdeh incident, which so nearly led to a war with Russia. It was an unfortunate happening for Indian finances; for it was followed immediately by an increase in the size of the Indian army, and a heavy outlay on frontier fortifications which has gone on to the present day. The Russian peril, too, led to the enrolment under Lord Lansdowne of the

* An Act of Parliament of 1870 had decided that "it is expedient that additional facilities should be given for the employment of natives of India, of proved merit and ability, in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India." The Governor-General in Council was empowered to make rules for appointing such persons to superior posts without passing the Civil Service examination. One-fifth of the appointments were reserved under Lord Lytton for these 'statutory civilians,' as they were called; but the rules proved unsatisfactory in working. Sir Charles Aitchison's Commission created three branches of the Service—(1) the Imperial Civil Service, to which admission is only by competitive examination in England; (2) the Provincial Service, open to all persons born in British India, and including some appointments previously belonging to the superior service and all judicial posts; and (3) the Subordinate Service.

Imperial Service troops, which are now maintained by many of the Native States. They give the Indian princes a share in the honour and burden of the defence of the Empire.

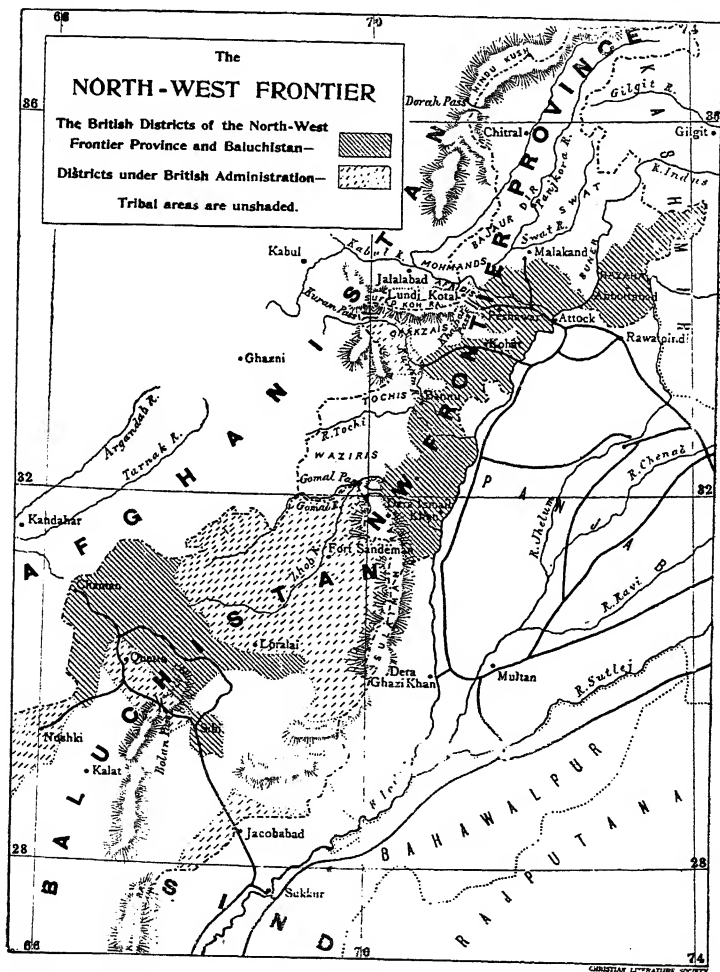
The last large addition to the Indian Empire was made under Lord Dufferin, when Upper Burma was annexed by proclamation on the first day of the year 1886. King Thibaw massacred many of his relatives upon his accession, and the British Resident was withdrawn from his Court. The King then began to carry on negotiations with France and other European countries, and created trade monopolies contrary to the terms of his treaty with the Government of India. When he imposed a huge fine on the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation and refused to submit the case to arbitration, war was declared. An army was conveyed to Mandalay and the monarch was deposed.

Other noteworthy events of Dufferin's administration were the restoration of Gwālior, which had been held by the British since the Mutiny, to the Mahārāja Sindhe, and the establishment of a British Protectorate over all Balūchistān. At the end of 1885 the first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held. Lord Dufferin received a marquise on his retirement. His wife's memory is perpetuated in India by the Hospital Fund, which is of so great benefit to the women of this land.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE: A.D. 1888-1894.—The post of Viceroy was next filled by the Marquis of Lansdowne.

The Scientific Frontier Lord Lansdowne gave much attention to the foreign relations of India, especially to the defence of the North-West Frontier. The policy of "masterly inactivity," recommended by Lawrence, was definitely abandoned by Lord Lytton. The agreement with the Khān of Kalāt, permitting the occupation of Quetta in 1876, and the Treaty of Gandamak advanced the Indian frontier to the mountains. The advocates of the "forward policy" argued that it was folly for the Indian Government to draw its boundary line upon the plains at the base of the hills, like a man sitting at the foot of a wall unable to see what is taking place on the other side. It must hold not only the crests of the mountains but also their western slopes, these being the

ramparts and glacis built by Nature for the protection of India. In the making of this new scientific frontier at its



southern end, Sir Robert Sandeman was the chief agent. Baluchistan was brought by him completely under the

suzerainty of the Indian Government, and a line of military posts was pushed forward among the tribes lying to the north. Military expeditions in the Zhob country in 1891 established political control in that region. This strengthening of the central section of the frontier went on under the general supervision of Sir Frederick (Lord) Roberts, who was Commander-in-Chief from 1885 to 1893.

It was natural that the tribesmen should look with suspicion on all the works going on in their midst—the building of forts and blockhouses, the making of military roads and railways, and the erection of boundary pillars; while the Durand Agreement roused their fears that political control was only a prelude to annexation. This agreement brought the territories of the Mehtar of Chitrāl more completely within the sphere of British influence. In 1895 there was a contest among various rivals for the chiefship; and in the course of it the British agent, with his escort, was beleaguered in the old fort at Chitrāl. An expedition was sent to his relief, and it was decided ultimately to make Chitrāl the most northerly out-post of the Empire, along with Gilgit guarding the passes of the Hindu Kush and the flank of the far-flung line of border defences. In 1897 the frontier, for hundreds of miles, was ablaze, and the prolonged and costly Tirāh campaign was needed to reduce the principal tribes to order.

When Lord Curzon became Viceroy, he felt that the new arrangements were likely to lead to strife. He sought, therefore, to cultivate more friendly relations with the tribes. He withdrew the Indian garrisons from many of the most advanced posts, substituting for them tribal levies under picked British officers. In his time no punitive expedition was despatched, but a blockade and the withholding of the annual subsidy were necessary to punish some offending Waziris. Lord Curzon also created (1901) a new province, that of the North-West Frontier, and placed it under a Chief Commissioner, who is in truth the Warden of the Marches.

We have now seen that the Indian Government has a two-fold danger to contend with on the north-west.

**Curzon's
Frontier
Policy**

First, it has to guard against the possibility of a European invasion; and second, it has to protect the people of the Panjāb from the restless and bloodthirsty tribesmen of the hills. Though perfect security has not yet been established, still India, as the result of the arduous labours of political and military officers, now has a fortified frontier and a political system, which gives it greater protection in this quarter than it has ever enjoyed before.*

A measure of great importance was passed in the Imperial Parliament during the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 amended that of 1861. It enlarged the Legislative Councils of the Supreme and Local Governments, enabling some of the non-official members to be elected by recognised public bodies or constituencies; and it gave the members the right to put questions to Government on matters of administration and also to discuss the annual budget. The first election, under this Act and the rules that were drawn up by the various Governments in India, was held in 1893. An important addition to the number of representative Indians serving with the Supreme Government was made in 1907, when two natives of India were made members of the India Council sitting in London.

The Councils Act of 1909, passed through Parliament in charge of Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India, greatly enlarges the Viceroy's and the Provincial Councils. It equalises the numbers of official and non-official members, provides for the forming of electoral bodies, and gives larger scope for debate on the Budget and other Government measures. The first appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council was made in 1909 by Lord Morley, when Mr. Sinha became its Law Member.

* A minor affair of Lansdowne's time was the Manipur expedition (1891). The Senāpati had deposed his brother, the Rāja, and set up another brother as Regent. Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, went to the capital with an escort of Gurkhas to effect a settlement. He and three other officers were treacherously murdered at a parley, and a military expedition became necessary. The two chief culprits were hanged, a boy of the royal family was recognised as Rāja, and the administration was placed under a British Resident during his minority.

THE EARL OF ELGIN : A.D. 1894-1899.—Lord Elgin's term of office was a period of stress and strain through natural calamities and the expensive frontier wars. In 1896 the Plague came to Bombay and spread rapidly through the country. In 1897 there was a wide-spread famine in northern India, and a terrible shock of earthquake did much damage in the Himālayan region. Moreover, the continued decline in the value of silver and the consequent depreciation of the rupee aggravated the financial difficulties of the administration. The Indian Government received its income in silver and its payments in England had to be made in gold. The loss by exchange, or increase in the foreign charges through the fall in the value of the rupee, amounted to several million sterling annually. To Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin belongs the credit of paving the way for the introduction of a gold standard into India.

LORD CURZON : A.D. 1899-1905.—With the coming of Lord Curzon a period of financial prosperity and active internal reform set in. In 1899 the sovereign was made legal tender in India, the rate of exchange at the Government treasuries being fixed at fifteen rupees to the pound sterling. Since that time the fluctuations of the rupee have been confined within very narrow limits, and the benefits to Government and to commerce have been great. In spite of the famine of 1900, a succession of surpluses was shown in the annual budgets; and in 1903 the Viceroy was able to announce that the salt tax would be lowered by eight annas per maund, "the first serious reduction of taxation that has been made in India for twenty years."

On January 22nd, 1901, the Queen-Empress Victoria died. She was followed to the tomb by the mourning of all her subjects, who revered her as the true mother of her people and a pure and wise ruler. Her eldest son succeeded to the throne with the title of Edward the Seventh. His accession was celebrated on January 1st, 1903, by a splendid darbār at Delhi, to which all the princes of India were gathered.

Other important measures of Lord Curzon's administration were educational and police reforms; the partition

of Bengal into two provinces, East and West ; an Act for the protection of Ancient Monuments ; the obtaining of the Birārs on a permanent lease from the Nizām ; and the Panjāb Land Alienation Act, which is intended to prevent the lands of the Panjāb ryots from passing into the hands of lawyers and money-lenders. In 1904 an expedition was despatched into Tibet, which reached the little-known sacred city of Lhāsa. The Indian Government complained that the provisions of the commercial treaty between India and Tibet were not observed, and they suspected the Dalai Lāma of seeking an alliance with Russia. The British policy is to uphold the suzerainty of China over Tibet. By the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 Tibet was recognised as outside the sphere of Russian influence.

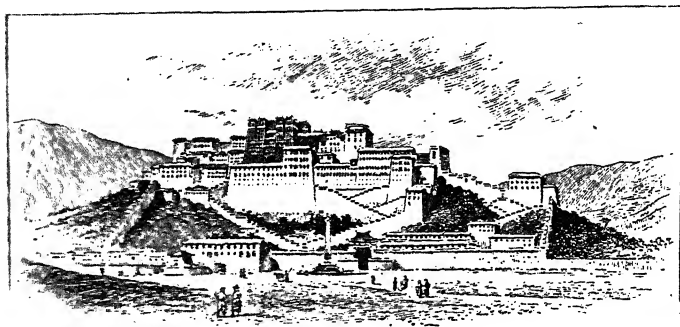
Lord Curzon's term of office was extended in 1904 ; but he resigned at the end of 1905 over a controversy which arose about the representation of the army in the Supreme Council. Hitherto it had been the duty of the Military Member to bring all army business before the Government. Though the Commander-in-Chief was an extraordinary member of the Council, any proposals he had to make were submitted through the Military Member. Lord Kitchener wished that the Commander-in-Chief himself should represent the army in the Supreme Council without the intervention of the Military Member. His



THE KING-EMPEROR, EDWARD VII

views, with some modifications, were adopted by the Secretary of State, the Military Member becoming the Member for Military Supply.* As Lord Curzon was unable to acquiesce in the new arrangement, he resigned and was succeeded by Lord Minto.

LORD MINTO: A.D. 1905-1910.—Lord Minto's chief acts of government had a twofold aspect. On the one hand, he encouraged the legitimate desires and ambition of the ruling and educated classes which wished to take a larger share in the administration of their country. We have noticed already the Councils Act of 1909, by which the



LHASA

Legislative Councils of the Viceroy and provincial Governors were enlarged and greater powers of debate were conferred upon them, while an improved system of electoral bodies was set up to choose representative members for these Councils. This measure owed much to Lord Minto's sympathy and co-operation with Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India.

But, on the other hand, the Viceroy had to introduce measures to suppress a lawless and seditious movement against the authority of the King-Emperor. The leaders of this movement falsely compared the British Rāj to an oppressive tyranny, and encouraged young men to murder

* The post of Member for Military Supply has now been abolished.

public officials and obtain funds for their secret societies by barbarous dacoities. A new Press Act was passed for the regulation of newspapers, and a special tribunal was established for the speedier disposal of cases of political crime.

The outstanding event of Lord Minto's term of office, however, was the death of the King-Emperor, Edward the Seventh, on May 7th, 1910, after a reign of only nine years. During that short period he had won the loyal affection and confidence of the many peoples over whom he ruled; and perhaps he wielded in Europe an influence stronger than that of any other reigning monarch. His many and successful efforts to remove national enmities and establish good feeling won for him the title of "Edward the Peacemaker".

LORD HARDINGE: A.D. 1910.—Lord Minto's successor is the grandson of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge. His viceroyalty will ever be memorable, because during it a reigning King of Great Britain set foot for the first time on the soil of India. The coronation of George the Fifth took place in Westminster Abbey on June 22nd, 1911, in the midst of such an assembly of European kings and nobles and princes of India as had never been gathered together before. It was followed by the visit of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress to India in November. At the magnificent *darbār* held at Delhi on December 12th, after conveying his message of goodwill and affection to the peoples of India, the King-Emperor made the following momentous announcement:—



THE KING-EMPEROR, GEORGE V

"We are pleased to announce to our people that, on the advice of our ministers tendered after consultation with our Governor-General in Council, we have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital of Delhi, and simultaneously, and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at as early a date as possible of a Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council administering the areas of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and of a Chief-Commissionership of Assam, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as our Governor-General in Council, with the approval of our Secretary of State for India in Council, may in due course determine. It is our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of our beloved people."

Thus the *Third Empire of Delhi* has come into existence. This story of India shall close with the hope and prayer that it may be well-founded, illustrious and beneficial to the millions who are under its sway.

REVIEW OF THE BRITISH PERIOD.—It remains only to pass in review the leading features of the British administration; for it has its distinctive principles as truly as Hindu or Muhammadan rule. Let us enumerate them briefly.

The end of society has been declared by an English philosopher to be the "greatest happiness of the greatest number." The East-India Company, **The Welfare of the Governed** as we have seen, came to India for purposes of trade and not of government. When territorial sovereignty passed into its hands, its administration had to be disengaged from the principles of commerce, in which self-profit is sought. The Charters of 1813 and 1833 cut away the trade monopolies of the Company; and a succession of noble-minded rulers set before the executive officers with ever-increasing force and clearness the good of the Indian peoples as the only right end of the British Government in India. That, and that alone, they said, must be the test and measure of its success.*

* "There is one simple test which we may apply to all Indian

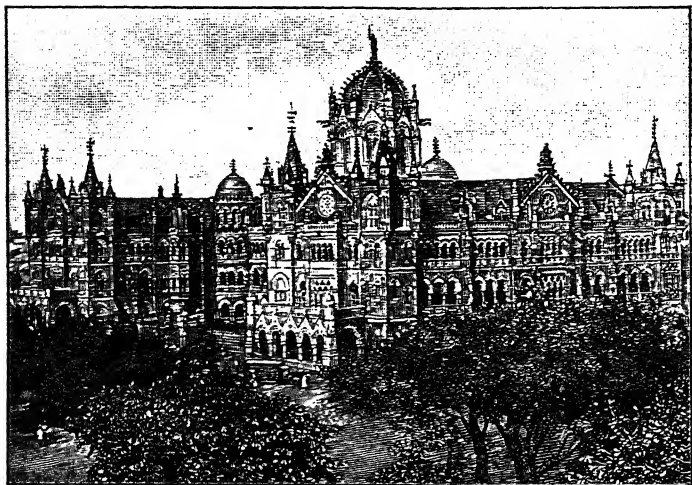
The population of India is predominantly agricultural. The ryots constitute by far "the greatest number" of the people. Hence the prosperity of the cultivating classes has always been one of the chief concerns of the British Government. Our narrative has mentioned a few of the many legislative measures and executive arrangements, by which it has tried to give to the ryot security of life and limb and the just reward of his labour.

India is now an integral part of the British Empire. Under ordinary conditions, the benefits of the connection of England and India are mutual, and both gain by it. Sometimes it is just to require a part to make a sacrifice for the benefit of the whole; but it would not be right to impose permanently on India burdens for the benefit of the Empire at large. One of the duties of statesmen in England and India to-day is to see that the scales are held even, and that, whether by commercial tariffs or by military charges, India suffers no loss or wrong through her inclusion within the British Empire.

As the British Government took shape, its work increased. We find that new departments spring up which have to discharge the larger responsibilities assumed. Both Hindu and Muhammadan kings had dug wells and canals and built dams and bridges, but none of their dynasties maintained a department of public works comparable in magnitude and beneficence to that which has covered India with roads and railways, and brought millions of barren acres under irrigation. The older Governments did little more than collect their taxes from their subjects, and all they gave in return was a rough-and-ready justice and protection. If the people were happy, it was because they were left alone. But the modern Government of India has assumed duties other than dispensing justice and affording protection from external and internal foes. It looks after the public health and sanitation; it acts as carrier, postman, and banker to the people; it seeks to improve agriculture and

questions; let us never forget that it is our duty to govern India, not for our profit and advantage, but for the benefit of the natives of India."—Lord Northbrook.

develope commerce; and—most important of all—it has begun to educate the masses. The despatch of Sir Charles Wood marks an era in the history of India. It laid upon a Government of India for the first time the responsibility of raising the intelligence of the people and of imparting knowledge to them. The spirit of that measure may be found in the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe, written nearly twenty years earlier:—"Whatever may be the consequences, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of



RAILWAY STATION, BOMBAY

knowledge. If India could be preserved as a part of the British Empire only by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our dominion would be a curse to the country and ought to cease." When, therefore, we say that the welfare of the ruled, and not the profit of the ruler, was kept before them as a goal by those who shaped the policy of the British Government in India, let us remember that by welfare is meant not simply material prosperity, but also intellectual and moral advancement.

An out-standing feature of the British Government in India, which cannot fail to strike every observer, is the

Peace settled order and peace it has everywhere established. The British were an adventurous race, whose flag was flown on all seas and whose colours were planted in all lands, yet their leaders did not love fighting for fighting's sake. Most of their quarrels in India were forced upon them, though we have indicated some wars and conquests which were brought about by greed or political ambition. Yet had the British claimed India as the prize of the stronger, they could not be condemned either by the theory or by the practice of Hindu and Muhammadan Governments, but only by the principles of the Christian religion which they professed. The kings of India recognised no law among themselves save the law of might. As soon as the Rāja or Sultān felt himself strong enough, he began to enlarge his dominions at the expense of his neighbours and to compel them to submit to him. Wars were carried on without ceasing merely to gratify the Prince's desire of fame, power and wealth, or to satiate his lust for revenge. The first Lord Minto said of the India of the beginning of the nineteenth century:—"War, rapine and conquest constitute an avowed principle of action, a just and legitimate pursuit, and the chief source of public glory, sanctioned and even recommended by the ordinances of religion and prosecuted without the semblance of justice, with a savage disregard of every obligation of humanity and public faith, and restrained only by the power of resistance."

We have found that some of the greatest wars of the English in India were undertaken reluctantly with grave searchings of heart and conscience by their Governors-General, who justified the use of the sword by the necessity of self-defence or the good of mankind. The British valued peace for themselves and for others, and they abhorred an unceasing and purposeless strife. Peace they conceived to be the normal condition of human society, under which alone the higher activities are free to develop. The *Pax Britannica* is the outcome of that conviction.

Religion is the rock on which many Governments in India have gone to pieces. We look in vain for the true idea of religious toleration before the British period. The religion of the new rulers was not that of the peoples of the country over which they held sway. Even had it been right for the English to do so, it would have been impossible for them to force their religion upon their subjects. The attempt would have been followed not simply by the overthrow of their dominion, but also—to use the phrase of the Law Commissioners—by “the dissolution of society.”

Religious Toleration

The Government's policy of religious neutrality is based, however, upon something nobler than a regard for its own safety and political expediency. It rests upon considerations of justice and a right view of the nature of religion itself. The duty of a Government is to look after the interests which are common to all its subjects—the maintenance of public order and the like; and where there are profound differences of religious opinion, it would be manifestly unfair for it “to assume the truth of any religion.” And further, the essence of true religion being faith and conscientious conviction, it is not in the power of a Government to promote the ends of religion by force or corrupt persuasion. The principle on which the Criminal Law of India was framed was that “every man should be suffered to profess his own religion and that no man should be suffered to insult the religion of another.” It gave the fullest liberty to religious discussion within the limits of sincerity and goodwill.*

Thus the policy of religious neutrality was not the work of rulers without, or indifferent to, religion, but rather of men who had a clear sense of what religion is and how it may be best promoted. It gave a fair field and no

* The Indian Law Commissioners who prepared the first draft of the Penal Code went to More's *Utopia* for an illustration of their principle:—“The founder of the Commonwealth of Utopia, it is stated, ‘made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion; and was neither to mix it with reproaches nor violence.’ He made this law seeing that ‘there were several sorts

favour to the contending religions of India, and that faith will prevail ultimately which most approves itself to the reason and conscience of men by truth and godly living. It was a corollary of this policy that Christian Missions should be dissevered from the State. They have always been the unofficial efforts of Christian Churches, apart from and independent of the Indian Government.

While thus following a policy of the completest neutrality, the Government has not tolerated every custom and rite which calls itself religious. The limits within which the toleration of the State moves were defined by Wellesley. He said that it was a fundamental maxim of the British Government to consult the opinions, customs, and prejudices of its subjects, "but only when they are consistent with humanity, morality and reason." What is flagrantly inhuman or immoral is opposed to those general interests which, we have already said, the Government is set to conserve. Therefore the Thugs were extirpated, female infanticide and the human sacrifices of the Khonds were suppressed, and the rite of *Sati* was made illegal. The penalties attached by Hindu and Muhammadan Law to change of faith were annulled by Dalhousie, because they were directly counter to the principle of toleration accepted by the Government.

The British Government began in much imperfection. Its officers were ignorant of the manners and customs of the country, and many of them were ill qualified, either by character or education, for their duties; but we have seen how the machinery of Government has been gradually improved, and its most

The Idea of Progress

of religion not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town...not only for preserving the public peace which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it...Supposing that only one religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind; while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choaked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns; he, therefore, left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they see cause."--*Second Report on the Penal Code, 1847.*

responsible agents are now selected, trained, and fitted for their work. There is a sustained effort on the part of the rulers to elevate the people in their charge. The secret of this continual movement is not to be found solely in the renewal of the vigorous British stock, or in the energy that was lent to the administration by Governors-General, who often packed the work of a life-time into a few short years. The British Dominion in India is unlike any that has gone before it in this, that it has the will and the conscience of a nation behind it; and deep in the heart of every Christian nation lie the hope and belief that human government, like human science, is capable of an almost infinite development. The British Parliament and people were the severest judges and critics of the Indian administration; and though they often erred through lack of charity or of knowledge, yet none the less they were the fountain-head of progressive ideas.

At the beginning the Company attempted to rule its territories through Indian deputies; but when this plan was given up, Lord Cornwallis went to the other extreme of advocating the employment of Englishmen in all positions of responsibility. It was not long before the rulers in India and the British Parliament saw the injustice and mischief of this policy of exclusion. They felt that the public service was a field for the exercise of the noblest faculties and for the gratification of legitimate and honourable ambition; it could not be right or beneficial to shut out the upper and educated classes of India from this field. No material benefit could compensate for a deprivation such as that. The Indian Government began, therefore, to enlist in its service those who seemed best qualified. We have noticed in the foregoing pages some of the steps in the process. The Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation declared it to be the intention of Government to offer a larger share in the administration, without distinction of race or religion, to natives of India who were qualified by character and education. The pledges thus given have been redeemed by the gradual, but continuous, increase in the proportion of Indians employed in the superior service. The new attitude towards the Native States was a part of

**Self-Govern-
ment : The
Public Service**

the same policy.* The Aitchison Commission threw open to all subjects of British India many posts, for which only those who had passed the Civil Service Examination held in London, had been eligible formerly. The highest, or Imperial, branch of the Civil Service is open to Indians on condition of their proceeding to England for the examination. This restriction is maintained by the Governments of the United Kingdom and of India on the ground that England is still the best school of political training for the Civil Service of India. The modern Government of India is the creation of the British, and it can only be carried on by those who thoroughly understand its principles and are imbued with its spirit. A superior officer of Government must have more than intellectual ability. He must be hard-working, truthful, sincere, courageous, and absolutely impartial. These virtues are of higher political value than mere cleverness. Therefore the British Government has insisted on the Indian, who aspires to the highest office, going to England, in the hope that he may pass through the same mill of character as the Englishman.

The British Constitution, its institutions of monarchy and an aristocratic chamber notwithstanding, is a form of democracy; it is a government of the people by the people for the people. But the British **Representative Institutions** Dominion in India is a benevolent despotism. The people of the United Kingdom govern themselves through their elected representatives, and the most powerful body in the British Empire is the House of Commons, the members of which are chosen by the suffrages of the nation. Why then do we witness the strange spectacle of a free people maintaining a despotic government? The answer is to be found in the political conditions of India. A democracy, among a people not ready for it, is the worst

* The following figures were published by the Government of India in 1904. Out of 1,370 superior appointments (drawing a salary of over Rs.1,000 a month) 1,263 were held by Europeans, 15 by Eurasians, and 92 by Hindus or Muhammadans. The proportion of the natives of India employed in the superior service had risen from 2 per cent. in 1867 to 7 per cent. in 1903. Of 26,908 Government appointments, of a value of Rs. 75 and upwards per month, 5,205 were held by Europeans, 5,420 by Eurasians, and 16,283 by Hindus or Muhammadans.

of all possible Governments. Government through parliamentary or representative institutions is only advantageous, or indeed possible, where a people is united and educated. It depends for its success upon a high average of political intelligence, general honesty, and mutual goodwill and the capacity for co-operation among the different classes of the community. The Father of the Political Science of Europe taught that virtue resides less in political institutions than in the people who are subject to them.* National character is more important than the form of Government.

In India there is an extraordinary variation in intelligence, ranging from high culture down to gross ignorance. Though there is a thin layer of modern education at the top, the mass of the people are still without political knowledge or experience. They are unable even to read or write, their interests and information are limited to the affairs of their villages, and they are ready to believe the wildest rumours and to give way to panic. Moreover, differences of race and language, caste and religion, have separated the peoples into camps often bitterly hostile to one another. Without the restraining hand of the British Government India would again be the scene of turmoil and bloodshed.

Yet, from the dawn of the British supremacy, the great Governors-General of India—not excepting the imperialist Wellesley himself—have declared it to be the work of England to fit India for self-government. The half-century under the Crown has seen the first small beginnings of government through representative institutions. The enlarged Legislative Councils, the Municipal Corporations, and District Boards introduce a new method into the administration of this country, and they are intended to prepare the way for a larger measure of self-government. The task is long and beset with dangers and difficulties: the goal is still far distant. A nation cannot be built in a day, or in a century, out of a congeries of jarring races, creeds, and castes; but may we not say that, if that task is ever accomplished and the goal is ever won, it will be under the restraint and guidance of England

* Montesquieu in his *Spirit of Laws*.

and by the loyal co-operation of Indians themselves with the Government it has established?

Ancient and mediæval India was a house divided against itself. It could not even think of itself as one geographically. The village school-boy of to-day, thanks to his map, has a clear mental image of the physical unity of India, such as the wisest of his forefathers was unable to form. Telegraph lines and railways have been extended and linked up, until they enclose the whole country within their network. They resemble the nerves, which carry the sensations and impulses of the one body from and to all its several members, and the arteries and veins, through which its life-blood is driven. The pain or pleasure of any limb in the body politic is now shared by the whole: to-day famine in this district or plenty in that affects the entire continent of India. There is a common system of law, and a public press. Thus, especially among the educated, we note the rise in the last half-century of a national sentiment. The process of unifying India has just begun.

The British Dominion is the gentlest, and at the same time the most powerful, civilising influence to which India has ever been subjected. Its political, moral, and religious ideas are penetrating slowly but surely the mind of the people. They have already worked a revolution in the classes educated in English. Religious reformers like Rājamohan Rai and Keshub Chunder Sen—the founders of the theistic Brahma Samāj, educational enthusiasts like Sayyid Ahmad Khān, to whom Muhammadans owe the Aligarh College, and the pioneers of the Social Reform party—all drew their inspiration from the ideals of the new civilisation. Its leaven is found to-day working everywhere in the cities; and here and there it has reached the villages. Hindus are passing their religious beliefs and practices through a process of testing, bringing forth what is truest and best in the old and casting away the false and base; the bonds of caste are being relaxed; the claims of the Pariah are heard with sympathy; and the education of woman is becoming more general. The wand of western civili-

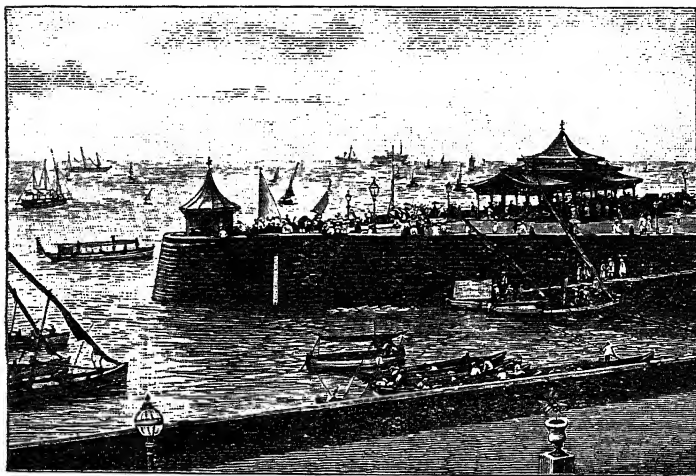
**The Effects of
British Rule :
National Sen-
timent**

**Religious and
Social Ferment**

sation has touched the sleeping maiden. She has not been awaked yet, but she has stirred in her sleep.

Some of the old decorative arts have languished under the British régime. The armourers, jewellers, gold and silver smiths, carpet-makers, and weavers of fine silk cloths, miss the patronage of the gay and extravagant Courts of ancient days. But vigorous efforts are being made to preserve what is best in the artistic handicrafts, and beautiful Indian ware finds a ready appreciation in Europe and America.

Art and
Commerce



THE APOLLO BUNDER, BOMBAY

Muhammadian architecture had decayed hopelessly before the British rose to power. The stucco buildings of Lucknow show a sad falling-off, when compared with the glories of Agra and Delhi. The British dominion has been a reign of the useful rather than of the beautiful. It has covered India with a most valuable plant of public offices of all sorts, some of which may be called handsome; but there is nothing of out-standing magnificence or beauty. We must wait and see to what the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta and the new Imperial City at Delhi will grow.

The foreign trade of India has now attained large dimensions. Its principal exports are food-grains, such as wheat and rice, and raw products like jute and hides. The imports are mainly manufactured articles, of which cotton goods form more than one-third. In its early days the Company used to export from India calicoes, fine muslins, and silks; but the invention of the steam-engine and the power-loom wrought a revolution in the Indian trade, as it did in the industries of Europe. The Indian weaver at his hand-loom was unable to compete with the mills of Lancashire. The true reply to foreign competition is to raise the industrial efficiency of India, which has itself begun to be a manufacturing country. The mills of Bombay and Calcutta have already a large output; and inventors are busy upon improvements of the hand-loom which may enable the village weaver to stand against every rival. Coal mines have been opened up in Bengal and the Deccan, and, thanks to the enterprise of the late Mr. Tata, India now has its own steel and iron works of European or American magnitude. With these changes in industrial conditions it has become the duty of Government to safeguard the health and morals of the workers. There is no reason why all the evils of the European organisation of capital and labour and of its factory system should be allowed to take root and grow unchecked in India.

Megasthenes wrote in the third century before Christ that the land of the Indians had never been invaded.

neither had they invaded the lands of others.
The Passing of Isolation His remark was not true, historically considered, even at that time, but it expresses accurately enough the impression made on the mind of the Greek ambassador and of other later observers. India seemed to them to be completely cut off from the rest of mankind. Now her isolation has gone. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought Bombay within a fortnight of London; and the under-sea cable or over-land wire flashes the news of the world from east to west and from west to east in a few seconds. For good or ill, India has been brought forth from her retreat, and there is no going back now. Her strand has become the meeting-place of

three civilisations--a Hindu, a Muhammadan, and a Christian. She may be the mediator between Asia and Europe. It is hers to learn and hers to teach.

We have come now to the end of our long journey. Within the compass of these few pages we have traversed

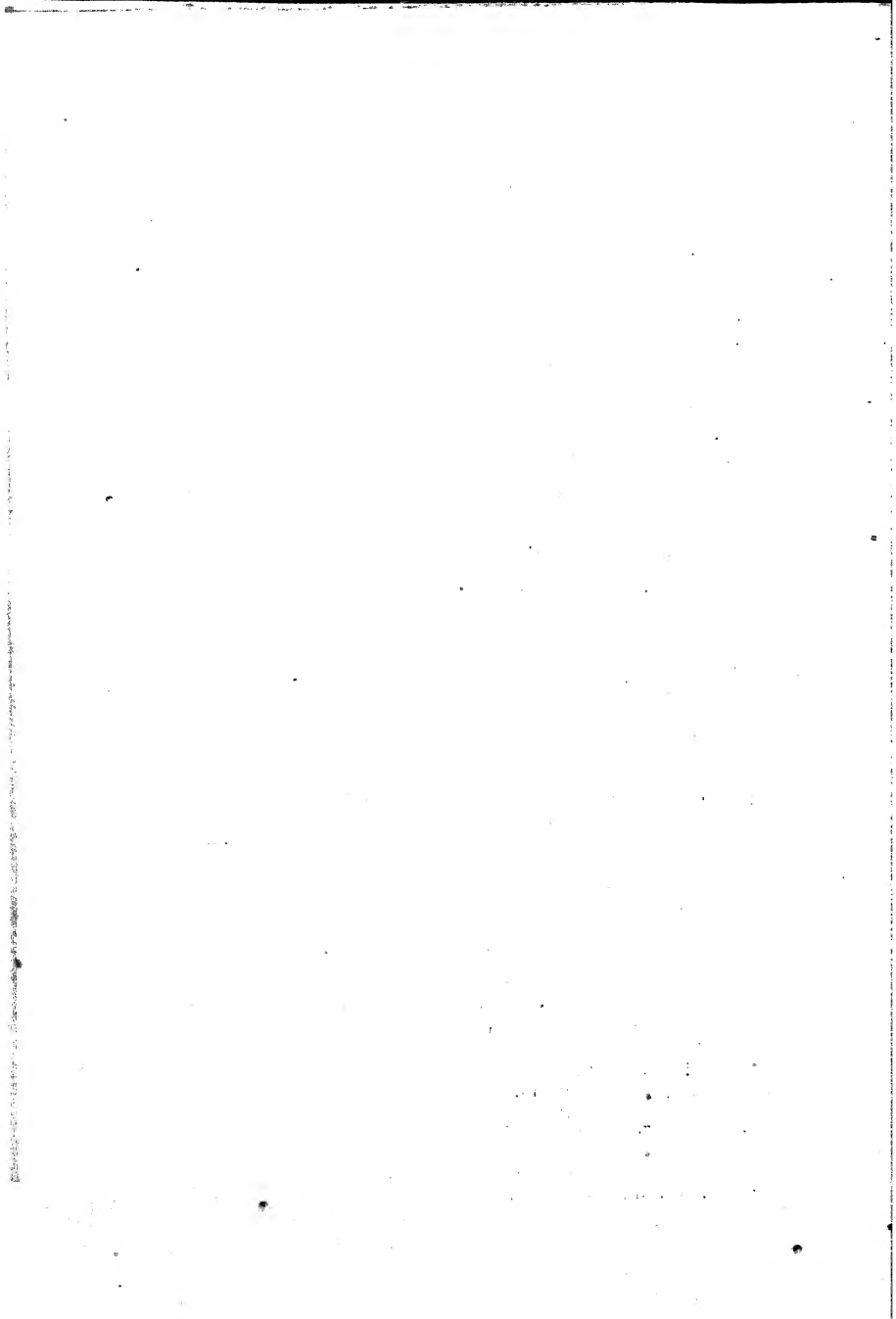
Conclusion an interval of more than three thousand years; and how great is the distance in thought which separates the Aryan India of B.C. 1000 from the British India of A.D. 1900. When the historian turns prophet, he generally goes astray: it is not for us to say what the future holds in its lap. This review may be closed fitly with the words of two Viceroys, who each loved India in his way and gave of his best to her. The Earl of Mayo, addressing the princes of Rājputāna, said:—"If we wished you to remain weak, we should say—Be poor and ignorant and disorderly. It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well-governed. . . Hourly is this great Empire brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Sovereign. Steam-vessel and the railroad enable England, year by year, to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils she seeks to entwine around her are no iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and peace. The days of conquest are past; the age of improvement has begun."

In a book for Indian students our last words shall be those spoken by Lord Curzon to the graduates of Calcutta University:—"We are ordained to walk here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people."

FINIS.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

- 1858-62 LORD CANNING is Viceroy.
1860 The Penal Code is promulgated.
1861 The Councils Act passed.
1862-63 LORD ELGIN is Viceroy.
1863 Death of Dost Muhammad; accession of Sher Ali.
1863-64 Mahābān Frontier expedition.
1864-69 SIR JOHN LAWRENCE is Viceroy.
1864 War with Bhutān.
1866 Orissa Famine.
1869-72 LORD MAYO is Viceroy.
1869 The Suez Canal is opened.
1871 Provincial Contract System introduced.
1872-76 LORD NORTHBROOK is Viceroy. [1873 Russia occupies Khiva.]
1875-76 The Prince of Wales visits India.
1876-80 LORD LYTTON is Viceroy.
1876 Quetta occupied.
1877 "Empress of India" Darbār at Delhi. [1877-78 War between Russia and Turkey. Treaty of Berlin.]
1876-78 Famine in Deccan and South India.
1878-79 Second Afghan War; Treaty of Gandamak.
1879-80 Third Afghan War; Abdur Rahmān becomes Amīr.
1880-84 LORD RIPON is Viceroy.
1882 Local Government Act passed.
1885 First meeting of the National Congress held.
1884-88 LORD DUFFERIN is Viceroy.
1885 Panjdeh dispute.
1886 (January 1st) Annexation of Upper Burma.
1888-94 LORD LANSDOWNE is Viceroy.
1892 Legislative Councils enlarged by representative members.
1893 Durand Agreement made with Amīr.
1894-99 LORD ELGIN is Viceroy.
1895 Chitrāl Expedition.
1896 Plague at Bombay.
1897-98 Tochi and Tirah campaigns.
1899-1905 LORD CURZON is Viceroy.
1899 Gold standard introduced.
1901 Death of QUEEN-EMPRESS VICTORIA; KING-EMPEROR EDWARD VII succeeds.
1901 Death of Abdur Rahmān; Habīb-ulla succeeds.
1904 Tibet Expedition.
1905-10 LORD MINTO becomes Viceroy.
1909 The Councils Act passed.
1910 (May 7th) Death of KING-EMPEROR EDWARD VII.
1910 LORD HARDINGE becomes Viceroy.
1911 (June 22nd) Coronation of KING-EMPEROR GEORGE V.
1911 (December 12th) Delhi Darbār Proclamation.



INDEX

A BBAS Khan, historian 162
 Abdulla Khan Sayyid 208
 Abdur Rahman Amir 395-96
 Abdur Razzak 201
 Abul Faizi, poet 173
 Abul Fazl, Akbar's minister 169, 173, 175,
 Abul Hasan of Golkonda 200
 Adali Shah, Suri 164
 Adams, Major 278
Adi Granth 208
 Adil Shahs of Bijapur 148
 Advaita Sect 104
 Adwani 299
 Adyar, Battle of 254
 Afghanistan, Amirs of 336, 343, 375, 378-80
 AFGHAN WARS—First 357-58; Second 393; Third 394
 Afzal Khan, of Bijapur 194
 Afzal Khan, of Kabul 389-90
 Agastya 23
 Agnew 367
 Agni 16
 Agnimitra 52
 Agra and Oudh—Lieutenant-Governor sanctioned 353
 Agra—Mughal capital 159; British capture of 325
 Agriculture, Department of 392
 Ahalya Bai 283-84
 Ahmadabad 146, 294
 Ahmadnagar 169, 170, 192, 199, 204, 325, 345
 Ahmadnagar, Kingdom of 148, 178
 Ahmad Shah, Emperor 211
 Ahmad Shah Abdali, Amir 211, 212, 222
 Aibak Kutb-ud-din 123
 Aitchison Commission 397, 413
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of 255
 Ajaigarh 335
 Ajanta Caves 91
 Ajatasatru 27, 29

AKBAR I, Emperor 164, 168, 169
 Akbar II, Emperor 213
 Akbar, son of Aurangzib 191
Akbar Nama 173
 Akbar Khan 358
 ALAMGIR I: see Aurangzib
 Alamgir II, Emperor 211
 Alam Shah, Sayyid King 141
 Ala-ud-din Jahan-Soz 122
 ALA-UD-DIN, Khalji 97, 127-31
 Alaungpaya 349
 Albuquerque 241
 Alexander of Epirus 49
 ALEXANDER THE GREAT 36-41
 Aligarh, Battle of 325
 Aligarh College 415
 Ali Husain 321
 Ali Mardan 182
 Ali Murad 361
 Aliwal, Battle of 363
 Alivardi Khan 210, 220
 Allahabad 315
 Allahabad, Treaty of 278
 Almeida Lorenzo 146, 241
 Alompra 349
 Alor, Siege of 83
 Altamsh 123-24
 Altunia 125
Amara Kosa 80
 Amarkot 161
 Ambala 17, 391
 Ambhi 37, 40
 Amboyna, Massacre of 243
 Ambur, Battle of 255
 Amending Act 289
 AMHERST LORD, Governor-General 349-50
 Aminchand 274
 Amir Khan, Rohilla 334, 335, 343
 Amoghavarsha 93
 Amra, Rana of Udaipur 177
 Ananda 33
 Anandpal 118
 Anangapala II, 87

- Ancient Monuments, Act for Protecting 403
 Andamans, Penal Settlement 392
 Anderson 367
 ANDHRAS 55, 56
 Anegundi 151, 154
 Angas 27
 Anglo-Russian Convention 392, 403
 Angre, Pirate chieftain 215, 261
 Anhilvad 86
 Antigonus of Macedonia 49
 Antiochos II, Seleukid 49, 57
 Anwar-ud-din 253, 255
 Appa Sahib 345
 Arab merchants 241
 Arabs in Sindh 82
 Arakan 190, 349
Aranyakas 30
 Aras, Battle of 293
 Architecture—Mughal 224, 416; British 416
 Arcot, Clive's defence of 258
 ARCOT, NAWABS of 251, 253, 255, 321-22, 370
 Argam, Battle of 325
 Arjun, Sikh Guru 208
 Arjuna, Pandava 21
 Arjuna, Usurper 76
 Arsakes 58-59
 Aryabhata 80
 ARYANS—physical characteristics 5; early civilisation 12-16; advance into India 17-22
 Aryavarta 20
 Asaf Khan 179
 Asaf-ud-daula 290, 295
 Ashtapradhana 198, 218
 Ashti, Battle of 345
 Asiatic Society 304
 Asirgarh 170
 Askari 160
 ASOKA MAURYA 45-52
 Asokan Inscriptions 45
 Asramas 30
 Assai, Battle of 324
 Assam 349-50
 Assigned Districts 371
 Asvaghosha 62
 Asvamedha 52, 70
 Asvapathi Kaikya 29
Atharvaveda 15, 16
 Atman 29, 30
 AUCKLAND, LORD, Governor General 356-58
 AURANGZIB, Emperor 181, 182, 183-85, 186-204
 Ava 349
 Avanti 26
Avesta 11
 Awakening of India 416
 Ayodhya 22, 69
 Ayub Khan 395
 Azam Shah, Prince 203, 207
 Azes 60
 Azim Khan 389
 Azim-ud-daula, of Arcot 321

BABA Lal 231
 BABAR, Mughal Emperor 157-59
 Babylon 41
 Bactria, Greek Kingdom of 57, 59
 Badami : see Vatapi
 Badarayana 65
 Badauni, historian 175
 Baghat annexed by Lapse 370
 Baksar, Battle of 278
 Bahadur Shah, of Gujarat 150, 160
 Bahadur Shah I : see Shah Alam
 BAHADUR SHAH II, King of Delhi 213, 371, 374, 376, 379, 381
 Bahlol Khan, Lodi 141
 Bahmani Kingdom 135, 146, 148
 Bahram Shah, Ghaznavid 121
 Bajaur 37
 BAJI RAO I, Peshwa 210, 216-18
 BAJI RAO II, Peshwa 314, 319, 322, 344-45, 346, 371
 Baillie, Colonel 300
 Bairam Khan 165
 Bala Hissar 358
 BALAJI BAJI RAO, Peshwa 218-20
 BALAJI VISVANATH RAO, Peshwa 215-16, 347
 Balance of Powers 268
 Balasri, Inscription of 64
 BALBAN 125-27
 Balwant Singh 296
 Baluchistan, British 398, 399
 Bana 74, 80
 Banda, Sikh Guru 197
 Bangalore, Siege of 309

- Bankipore 43
 Bapu Gokhale 345
 Barakzai Dynasty 356
 Bareilly 323
 Barid Shahs of Bidar 148
 BARLOW, SIR GEORGE, Governor-General and Governor of Madras 333-34
 Barni, historian 131
 Barrackpur, Mutiny at 376
 barwell 290-91
 Basalat jang 299
 Basava, Lingayat leader 94
 Bassein, 293, 294
 Bassein, Treaty of 323
 Bednur 302
 Begums of Oudh 290, 296
 Benares, Raja of 283-84 290, 296
 Benares, Treaty of 289
 Benfield, Paul 298
 BENGAL--Buddhist kings of 89 ; Muhammadan kings 143-44 ; annexed by Akbar 168 ; Diwani conferred on Company 278 ; Lieutenant-Governor sanctioned 373 ; divided 403 ; reconstituted 406
 Bengal Tenancy Act 386
 BENTINCK, LORD WILLIAM, Governor of Madras and Governor-General 334, 350-56, 369
 Bernier 181, 229
 Best, Captain 245
 Bhagavan Das 166
 Bhakti cults 230
 Bharavi 79
 Bharoach or Broach 86
 Bhartihari 80
 Bharata 20, 22
 Bharatpur 212, 327, 336, 350
 Bhatarka 72
 Bhatinda, Battle of 118
 Bhavani 192, 195
 Bhillama 96
 Bhils 5
 Bhinmal 86
 Bhoja, Gurjara 86
 Bhoja, Paramara 89
 Bhopal 217
 Bhopal, Begum of 352
 Bhutan, War with 390
 Bias river 39, 364
 Bidar, Capital of Barid Shahs 148
 Bihar 89, 278, 406
 Bihari Mal 166
 Bijapur Kingdom 133, 153, 183, 195, 199
 Bilhana 93
 Bimbisara 27
 Bindusara 45
 Birar, Kingdom of 148
 Birars assigned 371, 403
 Birbal 171, 175
 Bird, Mr. 353
 Biruni 120
 Bithur 345, 371, 377
 Bittideva 104
 Elack Hole of Calcutta 273
 Board of Revenue 287
 Bodhi tree 32
 Bombay, acquired 190, 245
 Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation 398
 Boscawen, Admiral 254
 Boukephalos 38
Brahmanas 25 ; a legend of 18
 BRAHMANISM 77 ; political ideal of 106
 Brahma Samaj 415
Brahma Sutras 65
 Brahmavarta 19
 Braithwaite, Colonel 301
Brihat Samhita 80
 British Supremacy, Policy of 268, 316, 329, 331, 340, 344
 Broach 294, 297, 325
 Bronze Age 11
 Brydon, Dr. 358
 BUDDHA, life and teaching 31-33
Buddha Charita 62
 BUDDHISM—as taught by Buddha 31-33 ; of Asoka 47-52 ; Mahayana and Hinayana forms 63 ; of King Harsha 76 ; in time of Fa-hien and Hsuen-Tsang 77-78 ; last notices of 101-2
 Buddhist missionaries 49
 Buddhist legends 26
 Bukka 151
 Bulaki or Dawar Bakh 179
 Bundelkhand 86, 87, 334, 335

- Burke 291, 305
 BURMA—First war with 349-50;
 Second 368; Third 398
 Burnes, Sir Alexander 356, 358,
 360
 Bushire 374
 Bussy 255, 259, 263-64, 287
- C**ABOT 242
 Calcutta founded 248; cap-
 tured and recovered 273
 Calicut 241
 Camac, Major 295
 Campbell, Sir Colin (Lord Clyde)
 363-64
 CANNING, LORD, Governor-
 General 373-81, Viceroy 384-88
 Carnac, Colonel 294
 Carron, 250
 Cartier, 285
 Cartridges, The greased 362
 CASTE—classes among early Ar-
 yans 12; origin of 25; Buddha's
 attitude to 32; Megasthenes'
 account of 44; advantages and
 disadvantages of 109;
 weakening 415
 Catherine of Braganza 247
 Cavagnari, Sir Louis 394
 Cawnpore, Massacre at 377-78;
 fighting at 378
 Ceded Districts 320
 Chach 83
 Chaitanya 230
 Chait Singh 295
 Chalukya Dynasty 90; Eastern
 branch 91; of Kalyana 93-95
 Chambal 283, 333
 Chamarajendra Odeyar 396
 Chanakya 42
 Chanda Sahib 251-52, 255-56, 258
 Chand Bibi 169-70
 Chandella Dynasty 87
 Chanderi 159
 Chandragiri 154
 Chandragupta 70
 CHANDRAGUPTA Maurya 42-45
 CHANDRAGUPTA VIKRAMADITYA
 70-71
 Chandranagar 262
 Chandra Rao More 194
- Changama, Battle of 284
 Channa Basava, Lingayat leader 94
 Chapotkata or Chavada Dynasty
 86
 Charles II of England 246
 Charnock, Job 190, 248
 CHARTERS of East-India Company
 243, 249, 338, 372
 Charumati 47
 Chashtana 60
Charuvarga Chintamani 97
 Chauhan Dynasty 87
 Chaulukya 86
 Chaunsa, Battle of 161
 CHAUTH 198, 215, 217, 342
 Chedi Kingdom 88
 Chennappa Naik 246
 Chera Kingdom 53
 Chhaju 128
 Chilianwala, Battle of 367
 Chinnaji 314
 China Trade, Monopoly of 353
 Chin Kalich Khan : see Nizam-ul-
 mulk
 Chinsura 277
 Chitaldrug 46
 Chitor 129, 145, 149, 150
 Chitral expedition 400
 Chittagong 181, 190
 Chitu, Pindari 342-43
 Cholaadeva 100
 Chola Dynasty 100
 Chola Kingdom 53
 Chunar 159, 161, 296
 CIVIL SERVICE 272, 329, 373, 413
 Clavering, General 290-91
 "Clemency" Canning 387
 CLIVE 258, 261, 273-77, 278-82
 Coal Mines 417
 Cochin, Raja of 241
 Cockburn, Colonel 294
 Codes of Civil and Criminal Pro-
 cedure 387
 Coimbatore 319
 Colbert, French Minister 250
 College of Fort William 272, 329
 Combermere, Lord 350
 Communications—under Mughals
 228; under British 365, 415, 418
 COMPANY, EAST-INDIA — formed
 244; comes under Parliamen-

tary control 248, 269-70 ; abolished 381
 Competitive Examinations for Civil Service 373, 397, 413
 Conflans 263
 Congress, Indian National 398
 Coorg, Raja of 311, 352
 Coote, Eyre, General 264, 275, 300, 301, 304
 Copper, early use of 11
 CORNWALLIS, LORD, Governor-General 272, 305-11, 328, 333
 Cossijura, Raja of 288
 Cotton industries 417
 Councils Act 387, 401
 Criminal Justice : see Judicial Reforms
 Cromwell 249
 Crown--old royal prerogative of foreign trade 249 : assumes Government of India 381, 384-86
 Cuddalore 302
 CURZON, LORD, Viceroy 399, 402-4, 418

DA ALMEIDA, Francisco 241
 Dadoji Kondadev 192
 Dadu 231
 Dahir 83
 Dalai Lama 403
 Dalavayi of Mysore 239
 DALHOUSIE, LORD, Governor-General 364-73
 Dalip Singh 362, 368
 Damaji Gaikwar 219
 Damalcheri, Battle of 252
 Dandin 79
 Daniyal, Prince 170, 176
 Dantidurga 92
 Dara, Prince 184-85
 Darbars, Imperial 392, 402, 405
 Darius I. 36
Dasakumara Charita 79
 Dasaratha 22, 52
 Dastaks 277
 Dasys or Dasas 13
 Daud Khan, of Gujarat 208
 Daulatabad or Devagiri 97, 134, 204
 Daulat Khan 143
 DAULAT RAO SINDHE 314, 315, 322, 343 ; his widow 352

Davis 242
Dayabhaga 107
 De Boigne, General 311
 Deccan Plateau 3
 DELHI—Indraprastha 21 ; Lalkot 87 ; Muhammadan capital 123 ; sacked by Taimur 139 ; new city of Shah-jahan 183 ; sacked by Nadir Shah 210, 211 ; Mutiny at 376, siege of 378 : see also 165, 325, 326, 376, 392, 402, 405, 406
 Demetrios 57
 Democracy, Conditions of 413
 Denison, Sir William 388
 Devabhumi 53
 Devagaum, Treaty of 325
 Devagiri, 96, 97 : see 128, 129 also
 Daulatabad
 Dhamma or Dharma, Buddhist 48
 Dhananjaya 89
 Dhangra 87
 Dhanika 89
 Dhanyakataka 56
 Dhara 89
Dharmaratna 107
Dharma Sutras 34
 Dhritarashtra 21
 Dias 240
 Dibal 83
 Dig, Battle and siege of 326
 Digest of Hindu Law 304
 Dilawar Khan, of Malwa 145
 Diler Khan 195
Din-i-Ilahi 175
 Disraeli 392
 District Councils 396
 Diu 146, 241
 Diwani of Bengal—given to Company 278 ; exercised 286
 Doab acquired 322
 Dost Ali Khan 251, 252
 Downton, Captain 245
 Drake, Admiral 242
 Drake, President 273
 Draupadi 21
 DRAVIDIANS—physical characteristics 4, 13 ; commerce 53, 63 ; kingdoms of 53, 90 ; language and literature 90, 106
 Drishadvati 17, 19

Dual System in Bengal 279; in the Carnatic 297; Wellesley's attitude to 321

DUFFERIN, LORD, Viceroy 397-98
Dufferin, Lady, Hospital Fund 398

DUMAS 251-52

DUPLEIX 252-61

Dupleix, Madame 253

Durand Agreement 396, 400

Durani Dynasty 356

Duryodhana 21

Dutch Company 243-44

DUTCH, WARS of, with English 243, 276, 300, 304, 337

Dvaita Sect 105

Dvarasamudra 95, 129

Dvaraka 22

Dwars, Eighteen, annexed 390

EARTHQUAKE 402

EDUCATION, Public 339, 347, 354, 364, 366, 402

EDWARD VII, KING-EMPEROR 402

Edwards, Herbert 367

Egerton, Colonel 293

Ekanath 230

ELGIN, LORD, Viceroy 388

ELGIN, LORD, Viceroy 402

Elizabeth, Queen 243

ELLENBOROUGH, LORD, 358-62

Elliot, Sir Gilbert: see Minto

Ellora temples 93

Elphinstone, General 358

Elphinstone, Mr. 336

EMPRESS OF INDIA 392

English Company, The 244

English Language 354

Eudamos 42

Eukratides 57

Euthydemus 57

Exchange, Loss by 402

FACTORY System 417

Fa-hien 70, 77

Famine Organisation 389

Famines 389, 392, 402

Farmans 248

Farrukhabad, Battle of 326

Farrukh Siyar 208-9

Fatehpur Sikri 158, 170, 173

Faujdari Courts 287

Faujders 172

Female infanticide 353, 411

Perozesah, Battle of 363

Financial Reforms of Lord Mayo 391

Firdausi, 120

Firishta, historian 140

Firuz Shah II, Khalji 128

FIRUZ SHAH III, Tughlaki 135-38

Forde, Colonel 262, 263

Fort St. David 263

Francis, Philip 290

Frazer, General 326

Free Trade, Wellesley favours 327

FRENCH IN INDIA—at Pondichery

249-64, 299; in Northern

Circars 257-64; with Hai-

dar Ali and Tipu 299, 301;

at Poona 293; with Sindhe

311; with the Nizam 313, 318;

with Sikhs 363; at Mauritius

318, 337; in Burma 398

French Company of Colbert 250-64

Frobisher 242

Frontier, North-West, Construc-
tion of 400

Fusion of Races 7

GAHARWAR Dynasty 86

Ganda 87

Gandamak, Treaty of 393

Gangadhar Sastri 344

Ganges, Battle of 161

Ganges Canal 365

Gaikwars of Baroda 218-19, 294,
297, 344, 392

Gandak river 18, 23

Gargya Balaki 29

Gaur: see Lakhnauti

Gautama: see Buddha

Gautamiputra Vilivayakura 56

Gawalgarh 325

Gaya 32

GEORGE THE FIFTH 405

Ghazipur 333

Ghazi-ud-din, son of Nizam-ul-
mulk 220

Ghazi-ud-din, son of foregoing
211, 212

Ghaznavid Dynasty 117-20

- Ghats, Eastern and Western 3, 4
 Ghazni 119, 357, 360
 Gheria or Viziadrag 261
 Gheria, Battle of 278
 Ghorī Dynasty 120-23
 Ghorī Kings of Malwa 145
 Ghulam Kadir 213, 312
 Gillespie, Colonel 334
 Giribajja 27
 Gladstone 395
 Goa 155, 241
 Goddard Colonel 280
 Godeheu 260-61
 Godolphin, Earl of 249
 Gold standard 402
 Golkonda, Kingdom of 153, 155
 193
 Gondophares 59
 Good Hope, Cape of 240, 315
 Gopikabai 291
 Gotama Rahugana 18
 Gough, Lord 362, 363, 367
 Govind, Sikh Guru 208, 231
 Govinda Rashtrakuta 93
 GREEKS—invasion of Alexander
 36-41; Bactrian and Panjab
 kings 57-58; influence of 62-64
Grihya Sutras 34
 Guhila princes: see Chitor
 GUJARAT—Hindu kings 86, 89;
 Muhammadan kings 145;
 annexed by Akbar 168; invaded
 by Marathas 217; also see
 Gaikwars
 Gujarat, Battle of 367
 Gulab Singh 364
 Gunas 65
 Guntur 299
 GUPTA EMPIRE 69, 67-72
 Gurjaras 86
 Gwalior 295, 352, 362, 380, 398
 Gwalior, Treaty of 343
HABIB-ULLA 396
 Haidarabad Auxiliary Force
 320, 371
 Haidarabad (Sindh), Battle of 361
 HAIDARABAD STATE founded 210;
 territorial changes 220, 282,
 311, 313, 320; cedes some
 districts to British 320; assigns
 Birars 371, 403: see also
 Nizam-ul-mulk, Nizam Ali
 HAIDAR ALI 282-83, 284, 299-301
 Haihayas see Kalachuris
 Haileybury College 272
 Hala, Andhra King 56
 Halayudha 89
 Halebid 95
 Halifax, Lord: see Sir Charles
 Wood
 Hansi 120
 Hanuman 23
 Harapala 97, 131
 HARDINGE, LORD, Governor-
 General 362-64
 Lord Hardinge, Viceroy 405
 Harihara or Hukka 151
 Harishena, poet 67
 Harmlessness 48, 102
 Harris, General, 319
Harsha Charita 74
 HARSHAVARDHANA 74
 Hartley, Colonel 294
 Hasan Gangū 135, 146
 Hastinapura 21, 22
 HASTINGS, MARQUIS OF, Governor-
 General 339-49
 HASTINGS, WARREN, Governor-
 General 285, 295-305
 Havelock, General 378, 379-80
 Hawkins 177
 Heath, Captain 247
 Hemadri 96, 97
 Henry, Prince, the Navigator 239
 Herakles 63
 Herat 374
 Hermaios 58
 High Courts Act 387
 Himu 164, 165
 Hindal 161
 Hinduism, Puranic 103-4
 Hindu Kush 11, 400
 Hislop, Sir Thomas 343
 Hiuen Tsang 72, 73, 74, 76, 91, 100
 Hodson 379
 HOLKAR: see Pilaji, Tukaji,
 Jaswant Rao, Malhar Rao
 Holwell 273
Horasastra 80
 House of Commons 249, 269, 413
 Hoysala Dynasty 95-96

Hughes, Admiral 301
 Hugli, Portuguese Settlement 181;
 English Factories at 247, 248
 HUMAYUN, Emperor 159-62
 Huns 73, 74, 86
 Husain Ali Khan, Sayyid 208
 Husain, Sharki King 145
 Huvishka 62

IBADAT-Khana 173
 Ibrahim Khan 222
 Ibrahim, Lodi 142, 157
 Ibrahim, Suri 158
 Ikbāl Khan 138, 139
 Ikḍala 136
 Ilbert Bill 397
 Ilyas Shah 144
 Imad Shahs of Birar 148
 Impeachment of Warren Hastings
 305
 Imperial Service troops 398
 Impey, Sir Elijah 286, 289
 Income Tax 387
 India Bill of Pitt 271-72; amended
 305
 India Council 384, 401
 Indians in Public Services 353,
 354, 385, 412
 Indore State 322, 325, 346 : see
 also Holkar
 Indra 15
 Indraprastha 21
 Indus, opened to commerce 361
 Inquisition 242
 Interlopers 248, 326
 Intolerance of Firuz Shah 137 : of
 Aurangzib 189
 Iran, Faction of 210
 Iranians 7, 9
 Iron Age 11
 Irrigation Canals 365, 389
 Islam—political ideal of 225, in-
 fluence on Hinduism 230-31
 Islam Shah, Suri 164
 Isle de France, or Mauritius 318,
 337
 Isolation of India 417
 Isvaradatta 88

JAGIRS and Jagirdars 172, 173
 Jahandar, Emperor 208

JAHANGIR, Emperor 176-80
 Jai Mal 166
 JAINISM—legends of 26 ; founde-
 and teaching of 30, 31, 34 ; late
 history 94, 101, 102
 Jaipal of Lahore 117
 Jaipur, Raja of 333, 336, 343, 35.
 Jaisingh 195
 Jaipur, annexed by Lapse 370
 Jalalabad 359
 Jalal-ud-din : see Firuz Shah II
 Janaka 22
 Jankoji Sindhe 361
 Janoji Bhonsle 282
 Japan, War of, with Russia 396
 JASWANT RAO HOLKAR 313, 322-23
 325, 326, 333, 346
 Jaswant Singh, of Jodhpur 195
 Jat Rajas of Bharatpur 212, 326, 351
 Jauhar 84, 149, 167
 Jaunpur Sharki, Kings of 144-45
 Java taken by British 337
 Jawan Bakht 212
 Jaxartes 59, 60
 Jayachchandra 86, 122
 Jayaditya 80
 Jejakabhukti 87, 88
 Jenkins, Mr. 345
 Jhansi State, annexed by Lapse 371
 Jhansi, Mutiny at 380
 Jihlam 37, 38, 39
 Jijabai 191
 Jimutavahana 107
 Jina 31
 Jinji 197, 202, 257
 Jivitagupta 72
 Jizya 137, 170, 189, 226
 Jodhpur State 87, 336, 343
 Judicial Reforms of Hastings
 286-87 ; of Cornwallis 307 ; o
 Bentinck 354 : see also Pena
 Code, Provincial and High
 Courts
 Julian : see Muhammad Tughlak
 Jushka 62

KABACHA 123

 Kabir 231
 Kabul 62, 82, 157, 162, 201, 357, 392
 Kadambari 80
 Kadapa, Nawab of 257

- Kahrur, Battle of 72
 Kaikeyi 22
 Kaikubad 127
 Kailasa temple 93
 Kakatiya Dynasty 97
 Kakka 93
 Kalachuri Dynasty 38
 Kalat, Khan of 398
 Kalhana 74
 Kalidasa 79
 Kalinga—war 47; edict 47, 48, 51
 Kalanjar 87, 88, 164, 167, 335
 Kalpi 380
 Kalyan 294
 Kalyana 94
 Kam Bakhsh, Prince 203
 Kampilya 23
 Kamran 159, 161
 Kanarese Language 106
 Kanauj 75, 76, 86, 161
 Kanchi 99, 100
 Kandahar, 182, 359, 395
 Kanishka 61, 62, 63-64
 Kanva Dynasty 52
 Kanwaha, Battle of 150, 159
 Kapila 64
 Kapilavastu 27, 33
 Karauli State 370
 Karaunas : see Tughlakis
 Karikal 281
 Karim Khan, Pindari 342
 Karma 30, 107
 Karmatians 122
 Karnal, Battle of 210
 Karnul, Nawab of 257
 Karri Plain, Battle of 38
 Kashmir 74, 168
 Kashmir, modern State 364
 Kasi 27 : see Benares
Kasikavritti 80
 Kasimbazar 246, 247
 Kathaioi 39
 Kathmandu 47, 341
 Katra, Battle of 289
 Katwa, Battle of 278
 Kauravas 21
 Kausambi pillar 67
 Kaveri River 3
 Kayal 101
 Kazi 172, 228
 Kazoulo Kadphises 60
 Keane, Sir John 357
 Keating Colonel 293
 Kerala, Kingdom of 53
 Keshub Chunder Sen 415
 Khafi Khan, historian 189
 Khaibar Pass 359, 368, 393
 Khairpur, Amir of 361
 Khajuraho 87
 KHALJI Kings of Delhi 127-32
 Khalji Kings of Malwa 145
 Khalsa 231, 362, 363
 Khande Rao 284
 Khandesh 168
 Kharavela, King 55
 Kharda, Capitulation of 313
 Khizr Khan, Sayyid 141
 Khond Sacrifices 411
 Khurram, Prince 177: see Shah Jahan
 Khusru Khan 131
 Khusru, son of Jahangir 176
 Khwaja-i-Jahan, Sharki 144
 KING-EMPEROR EDWARD VII, 402;
 GEORGE V, 405
 King's Court or Supreme Court
 of Judicature 287, 387
Kiratarjuniya 79
 Kirki, Battle of 345
 Kirthar mountains 1
 Kitchener, Lord 403
 Koh-i-nur jewel 211
 Koinos 39
 Kokanda fortress 168
 Kolarians 5
 Kolhapur 214
 Korkai 101
 Kosala Kingdom 22, 26
 Kosambi 26
 Kotwals 172, 228
 Krishna 22; worship of 77, 230
 Krishnadeva Raya 153
 Krishna Kumari, of Udaipur 336
 Krishna Raja Odeyar 319, 351
 Krishna, Rashtrakuta 92
 Kshaharatas 56
 Kulbarga 135
 Kumaragupta 71
 Kumaradevi 67
 Kumarilabhatta 104
 Kumbha of Chitor 145
 Kunjara mountain 23

Kural 106
 Kurukshetra 19, 20
 Kushan Dynasty 60-61
 Kusinagara 33
 Kutb-Minar 123-24
 Kutb Shahis, of Golkonda 148 :
 see also Abul Hasan
 Kutb-ud-din 88: see also Aibak

L A BOURDONNAIS, Admiral
 253-54

Lahore 168
 Lahore, Sikh Kingdom of 332
 Lake, General 213, 324 326, 329
 Lakhnauti or Gaur 144, 161
 • Lakshmana 22
 Lakshmaniya 90
 Lalitaditya 63
 Lalkot 87
 Lalliya 82
 Lally, Count 263-64
 Lal Singh 352, 364
 Lamghan, Battle of 117
 Lancashire mills 417
 Lancaster, Captain 242
 Lanka 22
 LANSDOWNE, LORD, Viceroy
 308-401
 Lapse, Doctrine of 369; alarm
 caused by 375, 385; renounced
 386
 Laswari, Battle of 325
 Law Commissioners 353, 387,
 410
 Law, French Commander 258
 Law Member of Supreme Coun-
 cil 353, 373
 LAWRENCE (John), LORD 362, 368
 378; Viceroy 388-90
 Lawrence, Major Stringer 258,
 281
 Lawrence, Sir Henry 364, 368,
 378
 Legislative Council 373, 384, 397
 Leyrit de 261, 263
 Lhasa 403
 Liberty of Conscience 366
 Lichchavis 27
 Lingayat Sect 94
 Local Government Act 396
 Lodi Dynasty 141

London Company of Merchants
 243
 Loyalty of British 303
 Lucknow Residency, Siege 378
 Lumbini Garden 31, 47
 LYTTON LORD, Viceroy 392-96

MACARTNEY, Lord 300
 Macaulay 354, 355
 Macnaghten Sir William 358
 Macpherson, Mr. 305
 Madhavacharya, of Vijayanagar
 151
 Madhoji Bhonsle 313
 MADHOJI SINDHE 212-13, 283, 292,
 294, 296, 311-12
 MADHU RAO I, 282-83, 291
 MADHU RAO II, Peshwa 292, 312,
 314
 Madhvacharya, Dvaiti 105
 Madras Presidency, Affairs of 284,
 297, 298-302, 309-10, 321
 MADRAS—acquired 154, 246 ;
 taken by French 254 ; besieged
 by Lally 263
 Madrasa, Calcutta 304
 Madura 101, 129
 Magadha 26, 39: see also Mauryas
 and Guptas
 Magas 49
 Maha Bandula 349
 Mahaban Mountain expedition 388
 Mahabat Khan 179
Mahabharata 20
 Mahakshatrapas 60
 Maham Anaga 165
 Maharajpur, Battle of 362
 MAHAVIRA 31
 Mahdi 175
 Mahé 251, 299
 Mahendra 49
 MAHMUD, of Ghazni 118-20, 360
 Mahmud Gawan 147
 Mahmud, Khalji, of Malwa 145
 Mahmud, Lodi 159
 Mahmud Shah II, Tughlaki 138-39
 Mahoba 88
 Maiwand, Battle of 395
 Makbul Khan 137
 Makwanpur, Battle of 341
 Malacca 242

- Malava Era 59-60, 73
 Malavalli, Battle of 319
 Malaysia : see Archipelago
 Malcolm, Sir John 336, 346
 Malhar Rao Holkar I, 218, 222
 Malhar Rao Holkar II, 346
 Malik Ambar 178
 MALIK KAFUR 95, 97, 101, 129, 131
 Malloi 40
 Malwa, 2, 60, 73 ; Muhammadan Kings of 145 ; invaded by Marathas 217, 220
 Mamluk Sultan 146
Manava Dharmasastra 18, 79, 107
 Mandalay 398
 Mandelslo 176
 Mandesar, Treaty of 346
 Mandu 145
 Mangalore, Tipu's port 311, 318
 Mangalore, Treaty of 303
 Manikka Vasagar 106
 Manipur Expedition 401
 Mansabs and Mansabdars 172
 Man Singh of Jaipur 168, 171, 175
 Man Singh of Jodhpur 336
 Mansura 83
 Manucci 181
 Manyakheta 93
 MARATHAS—race 191 ; religion 193 ; civil and military system 197-98, 215-16. For history see under Peshwas, S i n d h e , Bhonsle, Holkar, Gaikwar
 MARATHAS, WARS of, with English—First 294-98 ; Second 324-25 ; Third 344-46
 Marriage, Vedic 13
 Martanda 63
 Martin 250-51
 Masud, Ghaznawid 120
 Masulipatam 244, 246, 250, 263
 Mathava 18
 Mathura 58, 62, 311
 Matsyas 19, 22
 Matthews, General 302
 Maues 58
 Mauritius : see Isle de France
 Mauryas 42-52
 MAYO, LORD, Viceroy 390-92, 418
 Medini Rao 145
 Meerut, Mutiny at 376
 Megasthenes 44, 417
Meghaduta 79
 Mahidpur, Battle of 346
 Melukote 283
 Member for Military Supply 403
 Menander 52, 58
 METCALFE, SIR CHARLES, Governor-General 335, 356, 408
 Mewar : see Chitor
 Miani, Battle of 361
 Mihiragula 73-74
 Milinda 58
 Military Member of Supreme Council 403
 MINTO, LORD, Governor-General 334-39, 409
 MINTO, LORD, Viceroy 404
 Mira Bai 149
 Mir Jafar 274-75, 279
 Mir Jumla 183, 186, 190
 Mir Kasim of Bengal 277-78
 Missionaries, Christian—admission 339 ; at Serampore 347 ; Duff's Institution 354 ; unofficial status of 411
Mitakshara 93
 Mithila 23
 Mohan Prasad 290
 Moira, Lord : see Hastings, Marquis of
 Mokasa 215
 Mongoloids 8
 Monopoly System for foreign trade 243, 249, 327 : see Charters
 Monson, Colonel 290, 291
 Monson, Colonel 326
 Montesquieu 414
 Moracin 263
 More, Sir Thomas 410
 Morley, Lord 401
 Mornington, Lord see Wellesley, Marquis of
 Moulmein 350
 Mousikanos 42
 Muazzam, Prince 191, 196, 203 ; see also Shah Alam
 Mubarak Shah, Khalji 131
 Mubariz Khan, Suri 164
 Mudkal 152
 Mudki, Battle of 365

Mudoji Bhonsle ; see Appa Sahib
Mudra Rakshasa 43
 Mughal, meaning of term 7
 MUGHALS—first appearance 124 ;
 raids 125, 134 ; Imperial Dynas-
 ty 157-91, 199-204
 MUHAMMAD ALI, Nawab of Arcot
 255, 257, 297, 298, 321
 Muhammadan Art 223, 416 ;
 Literature 223 ; Government
 224-28 ; Social System 229 ;
 Commerce and Travel 228
 Muhammad Bakhtiyar 90, 143
 MUHAMMAD GHORI 122, 123
 Muhammad Kasim 82, 83
 Muhammad Raza Khan, Naib
 Diwan and Nazim 279, 287
 Muhammad Shah, Bahmani 152
 Muhammad Shah, Emperor 209,
 220
 MUHAMMAD TUGHLAK I, 133, 144
 Muhammad Tughlak II, 138
 Mularaja 86
 Mulraj 367
 Multan 83, 367
 Mumtaz Mahal 179, 183
 Municipal Councils 396
 Munja 89
 Munro, Sir Hector 278, 300
 Munro, Sir Thomas 337
 Murad, Prince, son of Akbar 169
 Murad, Prince, son of Shah-jahan
 184
 Murari Rao of Gooty 256, 259
 Murshidabad 274
 Murtaza Ali 253, 259
 Mutilation penalties 308
 Mutiny—at Vellore 334 ; the Great
 Sepoy 376-81
 Mutiny of British officers 337
 Muzaffar Jang 255-57
 Muzaffar Shah 146
 Mysore Princes at Vellore 334
 MYSORE STATE—Hindu Kingdom
 155 ; under Haidar Ali and Tipu
 283-84, 297-98, 301, 317-19 ;
 under restored Dynasty 317, 351,
 360
 MYSORE WARS—First 284 ;
 Second 299 ; Third 309 ;
 Fourth 312

NADIR SHAH 210
 Nagarjuna 62
 NAGPUR—origin of State 218 ;
 annexed by Lap se 370 : see
 also Bhonsle
 Nagpur, Outbreak at 345
 Nahapana 56, 60
 Naib Diwans 280, 286
 Naib Nazims 287, 307
 Najaf Khan 212-13
 Najib-ud-daula 211, 212
 Naksh-i-Rustam 36
Naladiyar 105
Nalayira Prabandham 106
 NANA FARNAVIS 292-94, 308,
 311-15
 Nana Sambandha 106
 Nank 208, 231
 Nana Sahib 371, 374, 377, 381
 Nanda 39, 43
 Nandkumar 290-91
 Napier, Sir Charles 361, 367
 Napier, Robert 368
 Napoleon 317, 333, 336
 Narayan Rao, Peshwa 291
 Narasimha, of Vijayanagar 152
 Narasimhagupta or Baladitya 73
 Nasik, Inscriptions at 56
 Nasir Jang 220, 255-56
 Nasir-ud-daula 371
 Nazir-ud-din 125
 Nasir-ud-din : see Khusru Khan
 Nasrat Shah 138
 National Congress 398
 Native States, British policy to-
 wards 386
 Nature worship 15
 NAWABS OF OUDH 210-11, 321,
 352, 371, 374 : see also Shuja-
 ud-daula, Asaf-ud-daula, Wazir
 Ali Khan, Wajid Ali Shah
 Nearchos, Admiral 40
 Negapatam 300
 Neill, Colonel 378
 Nepal, War with 341
 Neolithic Age 11
 Neutral Frontier Zone 396
 Neutrality, Religious 366, 385, 410
 Newfoundland 242
 Nicholson, John 379
 Nirgranthas 31

- Nirvana 32
 Niyaltigin 120
 NIZAM ALI 282, 284, 313, 317, 318
 319
 Nizam, Nasir-ud-daula 371
 Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar 148
 NIZAM-UL-MULK 209-10, 217, 219
 253, 255
 NON-INTERVENTION, Policy of
 267, 306, 311, 319, 324, 327
 NON-INTERVENTION in Protected
 States 351-52, 371, 386, 391
 Norris, Sir William 248
 NORTHBROOK, LORD, Viceroy
 392, 407
 Northern Circars—given to Bussy
 260; ceded to English 263
 North-West and North-East Pas-
 sages, Search for 242
 North-West Frontier Province
 400
 Nott, General 359
 Nudia or Nuddea 89
 Nur-Mahal or Nur-Jahan 179

OCHTERLONY, General 326,
 341
 Ohind 82
 Orientalists and Anglicists 354
 Orissa acquired by British 325
 Orissa Famine 389
 Ormuz 241, 245
 Oudh annexed 371; disaffection
 in 374, 376
 Oudh Rent Act 389
 Outram, Sir James 365, 374, 379
 Oxus river 11, 60, 157

PAITHAN or Pratihsthana 56
 Pajjota 26
 Pala Dynasty 89
 Palæolithic Age 11
 Pallakada 99
 Pallava Dynasty 97, 98
 Panchala Kingdom 21
 Panchalas 19, 20
 Panchayat Courts 347
 Pandharpur 193, 344
 Pandu and Pandavas 21
 Pandua or Firozabad 144
 Pandya Kingdom 53, 101

 Panic, Liability to 376, 414
 Panini 34
 PANIPAT—Babar's victory 157;
 Akbar's victory 165; Maratha
 defeat 222
 Panjab, annexed by British 368;
 Lieut.-Governor sanctioned 373;
 loyalty of 378
 Panjab Land Alienation Act 403
 Panjab Tenancy Act 389
 Panjdeh Dispute 396, 397
 Panniar, Battle of 362
 Paramara Dynasty 88
 Parantaka, Chola 101
 Parasurama 29
 Parganas, The twenty-four 276
 Paris, Treaty of 264
 Parliamentary Control 249, 270
 384, 413; see also Charters
 Parsees—race 7; at Akbar's Court
 173
 Parthians or Pahlavas 58, 59-60
 Pasenadi or Prasenajit 26, 27
 PATALIPUTRA—founded 28;
 Megasthenes' description of 45;
 abandoned by Guptas 69, 70;
 Fa-hien's description of 70: see
 also Patna
 Patan 86, 166
 Patanjali 52, 65
 Pathans 210
 Patkai mountains, 1
 Patna 267, 277, 279
 Patronage, Right of, taken from
 Company 373
 Peace, feature of British Rule
 409
 Pearce, Colonel 300
 Pearl Mosque 183
 Pegu 349, 369
 Peithon 41
 Penal Code, Indian 354, 387, 410
 Permanent Settlement of Bengal
 306-7
 Persecution of Buddhists 78, 101;
 of Hindus 118, 131, 137, 189,
 308
 Persepolis, Ruins of 36
 Persia, Shah of 336
 Persia, War with 374
 Pertabgarh Fort 194

Pertab Singh 167-68
 Peshawar 63, 357
 PESHWAS—their rise 215; acquire title to rule 220; last deposed 345: see Visvanath Rao, Baji Rao I, Balaji Baji Rao, Madhu Rao I, Raghunath Rao, Narain Rao, Madhu Rao II, Baji Rao II
 Phayre, Major 369
 Philippos Satrap 40
 Philosophy—of the Vedas 15; of Upanishads 29-30; of the Schools 64-65
 Pigot, Lord 298
 Pilaji Gaikwar 209
 Pindaris 338, 342-43
 Piprava Stupa 33
 Pishin 394
 Pitts—father and son 270, 271, 317
 Plague 402
 Plassey, Battle of 274
 Pocock, Admiral 264
 Police Organisation of Cornwallis 308; see also 347
 Pollilur, Battles of 300
 Pollock, General 359
 Pondichery 250, 251, 252, 253, 258, 260, 261
 Ponwars: see Paramaras
 Pope's Bull 242
 Popham, Captain 295
 Poona 193, 195, 219
 Poona, Battle of 322
 Poona, Treaty of 345
 Poros 38
 Porto Novo, Battle of 300
 Portuguese mariners 239-40
 Portuguese pirates 190
 Postage, cheap rate of 366
 Prabhakaravardhana 74
 Prachyas: see Prasioi
 Prajna Paramita 62
 Prakrit Languages 34
 Prakriti 65
 Prasioi 39
 Presents and Company's Servants 278, 280, 308
 Press—Censor abolished 349; special regulations abolished 356; Vernacular Press Acts repealed 396

Prithiraj Raisa 87
 Prithviraj 87, 122
 Proclamation, Queen Victoria's 384-85
 Progress, The idea of 411
 Progress, Reports of Moral and Material 366
 Propagation—of Brahmanism and Hinduism 18, 77, 108-9; of Islam 230; of Christianity 410-11
 Provincial Contract System 391
 Provincial Courts and Councils 286-87
 Public Works Department 366, 408
 Pulakesin I, 91
 Pulakesin II, 76, 91
 Pulumayi 60
 Puranas 27, 55, 103
 Purandhar, Treaty of 293
 Purdah System 229
 Purnayya 319
 Purusha 65
 Purusha Sukta 14
 Purvamimamsa 65
 Pushpapura 28
 Pushyamitra 52

Q See letter K for many Muhammadan names
 Quetta 393
 Quinton, Mr. 386

RAGHOBHA: see Raghunath Rao
 Raghoji Bhonsle I, 218, 220, 252
 Raghoji Bhonsle II, 323, 335, 345
 RAGHUNATH RAO 212, 222, 282, 292-93, 299
 Raghuwamsa 79
 Raichur 152
 Raigarh 197
 Raihan 126
 Railways in India 364, 375, 415
 Rainier, Admiral 315
 Raisin, Siege of 163
 Rajagriha 27
 Rajamohan Rai 415
 RAJARAJA 93, 99
 Rajaram 201
 Rajarshis 29
 Rajgarh 194
 Rajmahal mountains 2

- RAJPUT STATES—organisation 84-5; wars with Muhammadans 122, 129, 145, 149, 152, 163, 167, 177, 190; oppressed by Marathas 334, 335; enter Defensive Alliance 343
 Rajyasri 75
 Rajyavardhana 74
 Rama 22; worship of 230
 Ramachandra, Yadava 96-97
 Ramananda 230, 231
 Ramanujacharya 104
 Ramaraj, son of Sivaji II, 219
 Rama Raya 153
Ramayana 22
Ramayana, of Tulsidas 230
 Ramdas 193, 230
 Rannagar 296
 Ram Sastri 292
 Rangoon 349, 369
 RANJIT SINGH 335, 336, 357, 359, 362
 Rann of Cutch 7, 135
 Ranoji Sindhe 218
 Rantambhor 129, 167
 Rashtrakutas 92
 Rathors 87: see also Jodhpur
Ratnavali 76
 Ravana 22
 Rayatwari System 337, 347
 Raymond 313
 Raziya Sultan 125
 Regulating Act 271
 Reinhardt 278
 REPRESENTATIVE Principle in Government 387, 396, 401, 413
 Responsibility of Government enlarged 407
 REVENUE ORGANISATION—of Mauryan Empire 44; of Vijayanagar Empire 155; of Sher Khan 163; of Akbar 170; of Mughal Empire generally 227; of Warren Hastings 304; of Cornwallis 307; of Marquis of Hastings 347; in Madras Presidency 337; in Oudh 375, 386
Rigveda—described 15; Samhita formed 25
 Ripaud, 318
 RIPON, LORD, Viceroy 396-97
 Roberts, Sir Frederick 394, 400
 Rock Edicts of Asoka 47, 51, 52
 Roe Doctrine 245
 Roe, Sir Thomas 177, 245
 Rohilkhand, British acquire 322
 Rohillas 212, 220, 289
 Rohtas 163
 Roman Empire, Intercourse with 63
 Rose, Sir Hugh (Lord Strathnairn) 380
 Routes of Trade 239
 Rudradaman 60
 Rudrasimha 60, 70
 Rumi Khan 159
 Rummindei 31
 Rupee, Depreciation of 402
 Russian Peril 356, 390, 394, 403
 Ryswick, Treaty of 251
 SA'ADAT Ali Khan 315
 Sa'adat Khan, of Oudh 210
 Sabuktigin 117
 Sacrifice—Vedic 16; Brahman ritual of developed 25; protest against 29
 Sacrifices, Human 411
 Sadanira 18
 Sadr Diwani Adalat 286, 289, 307, 373
 Sadr Nizamat Adalat 287, 307
 Safdar Ali, of Arcot 251-52
 Safdar Jang 211
 Sagauli, Treaty of 341
 Sagres 240
 Sahaji, Maratha chief 178, 181
 Sahu 201, 213, 219
 Sahuji, of Tanjore 251
 Saisunaga Dynasty 27
 Sakala 73
 Sakas 59
Sakuntala 79
 Sakwarbai 219
 Sakya Clan 26
 Salabat Jang 220, 259, 263, 282
 Salaries of Company's servants 280, 308
 Salbai, Treaty of 296-97
 Sale, Sir Robert 358
 Salim Chishti, Shaikh 168-69

- Salim, Prince 173, 176 : see also Jahangir
 Salisbury, Lord 392
 Saljuk Turks 120
 Salsette 247, 292, 297
 Salt monopoly 277, 280
 Salt Tax reduced 402
Samaveda 15
 Sambalpur, annexed by Lapse 370
 Sambhaji I, 199, 201, 213
 Sambhaji II, 214
 Samru 278
 SAMUDRAGUPTA 67-70
 Samugarh, Battle of 184
 Sanchi 52
 Sandeman, Sir Robert 384
 Sanga, Rana of Chitor 149, 158
 Sangala 39
 Sangha, the Buddhist Order 32
 Sankaracharya 104
 Sankhya philosophy 65
 Sanskrit language 33; revival 78
 Santals 5
Sapta Salaka 56
 Sarasvati 17, 19
 Sardesmukhi, 197, 215
Sarvadersana Sangraha 151
 Sasanka 74, 78
Satakas of Bhartrihari 80
 Satara, Rajas of 219, 346, 370
 Satara 213, 215, 219
 Satavahana or Satakarni 56
 Satgaon 144
 Sati 353, 411
 Satiyaputra Kingdom 53
 Satnamis 189
 Satpura mountains 2
 Saunders, President 261
 Savanur, Nawab of 257
 Sayanacharya 152
 Sayyid Dynasty 141
 Sayyid king-makers 208
 Scientific Frontier 398
 SCYTHIANS—physical characteristics 6; invasions of 58-62
 Seleukos Nikator 43
 Self-Government, Idea of 412
 Sena Dynasty 89
 Sepoy Mutiny 376-81
 Serampore Baptist missionaries at 347
 SERINGAPATAM 151, 155, 284, 309, 319, 323, 337
 Sevunadesa 96
 Shahab-ud-din 122
 Shah Alam or Bahadur Shah I, Emperor 207 : see also Prince Muazzam
 SHAH ALAM, Emperor 212, 276, 278, 289, 311, 312
 Shahi kings of Kabul 82
 SHAH-JAHAN, EMPEROR 180-86
 Shahjahanabad 183
Shah-nama 120
 Shahpur, Battle of 209
 Shahriyar, Prince 179
 Shah Shuja, Amir 356-57
 Shaikh Mubarak 173, 174
 Sharki Dynasty of Jaunpur 144
 Shatab Rai 279, 287
 Shayista Khan 190, 195, 247
 Sher Ali, Amir 389-90, 393
 Sheridan 305
 SHER SHAH or SHER KHAN 144, 159-64
 Shiah : see Sunnis
 Shirze Rao Ghatge 314; his daughter 352
 Sholinghar, Battle of 300
 SHORE, SIR JOHN, Governor-General 311, 315-16, 318
 Shuja, Prince 184, 186
 Shuja-ud-daula, of Oudh 276, 278, 289
 Shuja-ud-din, of Bengal 210
 Sibi 394
 Sicily 350
 Sikandar, Lodi 141
 Sikandar, Suri 148, 164
 SIKHS 207, 208, 231, 335 : see also Nanak, Govind, Ranjit Singh
 SIKHS, WARS of, with English—First 360; Second 366
 Sikkim 342
 Simla acquired 341
 Singapore 337
 Singhana 96
 Singramasimha : see Rana Sanga
 Sipri river 346
 Siraji Anjanagaum 325
 Siraj-ud-daula 261, 273-76

Sironj, Treaty of 217
 Sistan 40, 59
 Sisunaga 27
 Sita 22
 Sitabaldi Hill, Battle of 345
 Sivadas Rao 220-23
 SIVAJI I, 191-97
 Sivaji II, 214
 Sivaner fort 191
 Skandagupta 72
 Skylax 36
 Slave Dynasty 123-27
 Slavery 108, 229; abolished 354
 Smith, Colonel 284
 Smith, Sir Harry 363
 Sobraon, Battle of 364
 Social reforms 375, 415
 Solanki Dynasty 86
 Soma 16
 Somesvara 94
 Somnath—temple of 118; gates
 of 346
 Sonagaon 143
 Son river 43
 Spanish Armada 242
 Spice Archipelago or Malaysia
 242, 243, 337
Srauta Sutras 34
 Srirangam 258
 Sri Vaishnavas 104
 Steam-power, revolution made
 by 270, 400
 Stevenson, Colonel 324
 St. Lubin, Chevalier 293
 St. Thomas, Legend of 59
 St. Thomé 250
 Stuart, General 301, 319
 Stupas 51
 Subahs and Subahdars 172
 Subhandhu 80
 Subsidiary System—317; com-
 pleted by Marquis of Hastings
 347
 Suddhodana 31
 Sudras 25
 Suez Canal 417
 Suffrein, Admiral 301
 Sufis 173
 Sulaiman mountains 1
 Sulaiman Shukoh 184
 Sundara, Pandya 101

Sunga Dynasty 52
 Sunnis and Shi'ahs 173-74, 75, 176,
 186-87, 199, 200
 Supreme Court 287-89, 373
 Surasenakas 19
 Surat 195, 196, 244, 245, 250, 292
 293, 294
 Surat, Treaty of 292
 Susa 41
 Susarman 53
Sutras 34
 Suwat 37
 Suzerain and Feudatory Princes,
 their relations 351, 369, 386
Svarajya 197
 Swally Roads, Battle of 245

TAGHI 135

Taila, Chalukya 93

TAIMUR 138-39

Taj-Mahal 183

Takshasila 37, 46, 60

Talegaum 294

Talikota, Battle of 153

Talukdars of Oudh 374, 386

Tamil language 4, 105

Tanjore 100, 151, 181, 197, 251,
 298, 309

Tanjore Raja, title abolished 370

Tank Rampur 326, 333

Tantia Topi 377, 380

Tarai 328, 341, 342

Tarabai 202, 213, 219

Tarain, Battle of 122

Tavernier 181

Tatta 135, 136

Tazin, Battle of 360

Teignmouth, Lord: see Sir John
 Shore

Tej Singh 362

Telegraph lines 373, 375, 415,
 417

Telugu language 106

Tenasserim 350

Tent Contract system 337

Test of Government 406

Thana 344

Thibaw 398

Thomas, the Apostle 59

Thugs 353, 411

Tibet expedition 402

- Tipu, of Mysore 288-91, 300-3, 308-11, 308-20
 Tirah Campaign 400
 Tirumala 153, 154
 Tirunana Sambandha 106
 Tiruvalluvar 106
Tiruvasagam 106
 Todar Mal 171, 172
 Toleration—false 110; Akbar's 170, 175; British 410-11
 Tomara Dynasty 87
 Tonk, Nawab of: see Amir Khan
 Toramana 73
 Torana 194
 Tosali 46
 Trade—early with Red Sea ports 53; with Rome 63; routes to Europe 239; modern foreign 417
 Traikuta 88
 Travancore Kingdom 53, 309, 337
 Trevelyan, Charles 341
 Trichinopoly 251, 252, 255, 256, 258
 Trimbak Dangle 344
 Trimbak Rao 283
 Trimbak Rao Dabhade 217
 Trinity, Hindu 103
 Trinomali 284
 Triple Alliance—first against Mysore 284; second against Mysore 309; against Amir 357
 Tughlaki Dynasty 132-39
 TUGHLAK KHAN 132
 Tughril, of Lakhnauti 127
 TUKAJI HOLKAR 292, 312, 315
 Tukaram 193, 230
 Tulasibai 346
 Tulasidas or Tulsidas 230
 Tungabhadra 152, 311
 Turan, Party of 210

UDAIPUR (Bengal), annexed by Lapse 370
 Udaipur founded 150, 167
 Udaipur, Rana of 336, 343
 Udai Singh 166
 Udayagiri Capitulation of 210, 282
 Udena 26
 Udhua Nullai, Battle of 278
 Ujjain 46, 60, 70, 86
 Ulugh Khan: see Balban
 Umdat-ul-Umra 321
 Unifying of India 415
 Union of the English Companies 249
 Universities, Indian 366
 Upagupta 47
Upanishads 29
 Upton, Colonel 293
 Uraiyur 100
 Ushas 15
 Utopia 393
 Uttaramimamsa 65

VAISALI 27, 28
 Vaisyas 13, 25
Vakyapadiya 80
 Valabhi, Kingdom of 72, 75, 84
 Vallabhacharya 230
 Valmiki 22
 Vamana 80
 Vamsas 26
 Vansittart, President 268, 277
 Varahamihira 80
 Vardhamana Mahavira 26, 30-31
Vasavadatta 80
 Vasco da Gama 241
 Vasudeva, Kanva 53
 Vasudeva, Kushan 62, 64
 Vasumitra 52
 Vatapi 91
 Vatsaraja 86
Vayu Purana 79
 Vedanta 30, 104
Vedas, Four 14-16
 Vellore 197, 243
 Vellore Mutiny 334
 Vengi 92, 99
 Verelst 285
 Vernacular Languages—of Aryan family 35; Dravidian 105
 Vernacular Press Acts 396
 VICTORIA QUEEN-EMPRESS 384, 392, 402
 Vidarbha Raja 52
 Vidudabha 25
 Vijayanagar Kingdom 146, 151-55
 Vijjala or Vijjana 94
 Vikramaditya legend 59

Vikramaditya II, Western
 Chalukya 93
 Vijnaneswara 93
 Vikrama Era 73
 Villivayakura 56
 Village system 109
 Vindhya Mountains 2
 Viraballala II and III, 95
 Viraraj 352
 Vira Saivas 94, 103
 Vishnuvardhana, Hoysala 104
 Visishtadvaita 104
 Visvanatha temple 189
 VISVANATH RAO, Peshwa 208 :
 see Balaji V. Rao
 Visvas Rao 223
 Vitthoba 193
 Vonones 58
 Vritra 15

WAHABI fanatics 388
 Waihand 80
 Waite, Sir Nicholas 248
 Wajid Ali Shah, of Oudh 371
 Wales, Prince of, visits India 392
 Walpole 270
 Wandiwash, Battle of 264
 Warangal, 97, 129, 132, 146
 Wargau, Convention of 294
 Wasi Muhammad 342, 343
 Watson, Admiral 261, 273, 274
 Wazir Ali Khan 316, 317
 Welfare of the Governed 406
 Wellesley, Arthur, General 323,
 325
 Wellesley, Henry 323
 WELLESLEY, MARQUIS, Governor-
 General 316-29, 332-33, 411, 414

Wheeler, General 377
 Whish, General 367
 Widows, Hindu, marriage of 375
 Wilberforce 317, 339
 Willoughby 242
 Wilson, Horace Hayman 354
 Wilson, Mr. 387
 Wood, Sir Charles 366
 Wyndham, General 380

YADAVA Dynasty of Devagiri
 96, 97
 Yadavas 22
Yajñavalkya Dharmasastra 79
Yajurveda 15
 Yakub Khan 394
 Yama 14
 Yandabo, Treaty of 349
 Yaska 34
 Yasodharman 73, 74
 Yavanas or Greeks 57, 65
 Yoga philosophy 66
Yoga Sutras 65
 Yorktown 305
 Yudhishthira 21, 22
 Yueh-chi 6, 59, 60, 62

ZAFAR Khan : see H a s a n
 Gangu
 Zafar Khan : see Muzaffar Shah
 Zaman Shah 321
 Zamindars 287, 307, 347, 371
 Zamorin of Calicut 241
 Zanana system 229
 Zhob expedition 400
 Zimmi 226
 Zone, Neutral, or Frontier 396
 Zulfikar Khan 207-8